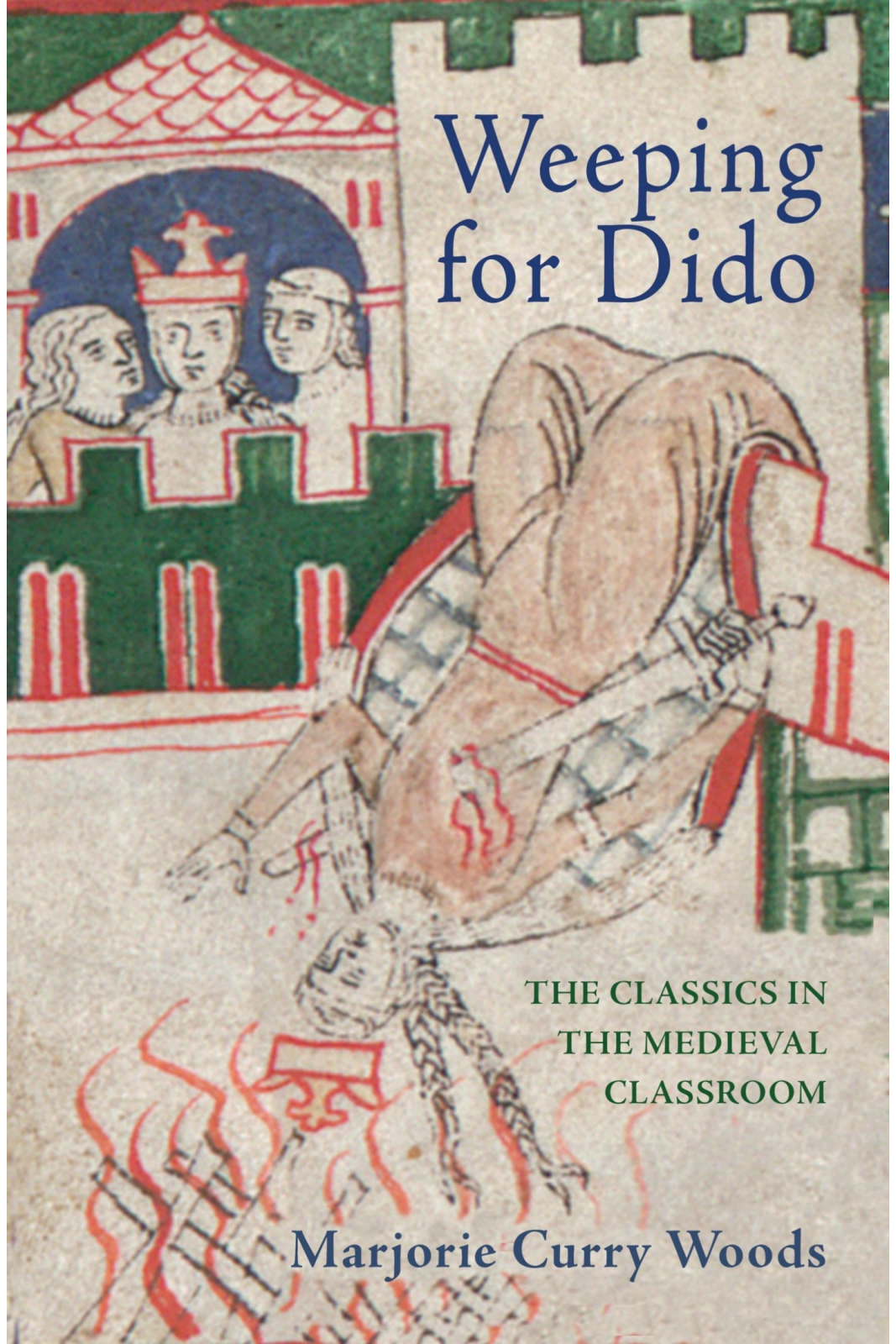


A medieval manuscript illustration. In the upper left, a king and queen, both wearing crowns, look on from a castle battlement. The king is on the left, the queen in the center. Below them, a knight in chainmail and a surcoat is fighting a large dragon. The knight is on the ground, having been thrown by the dragon. The dragon is coiled over him, its head lowered. Red flames or blood are depicted at the point of contact. The background shows the battlements and a tiled roof of the castle.

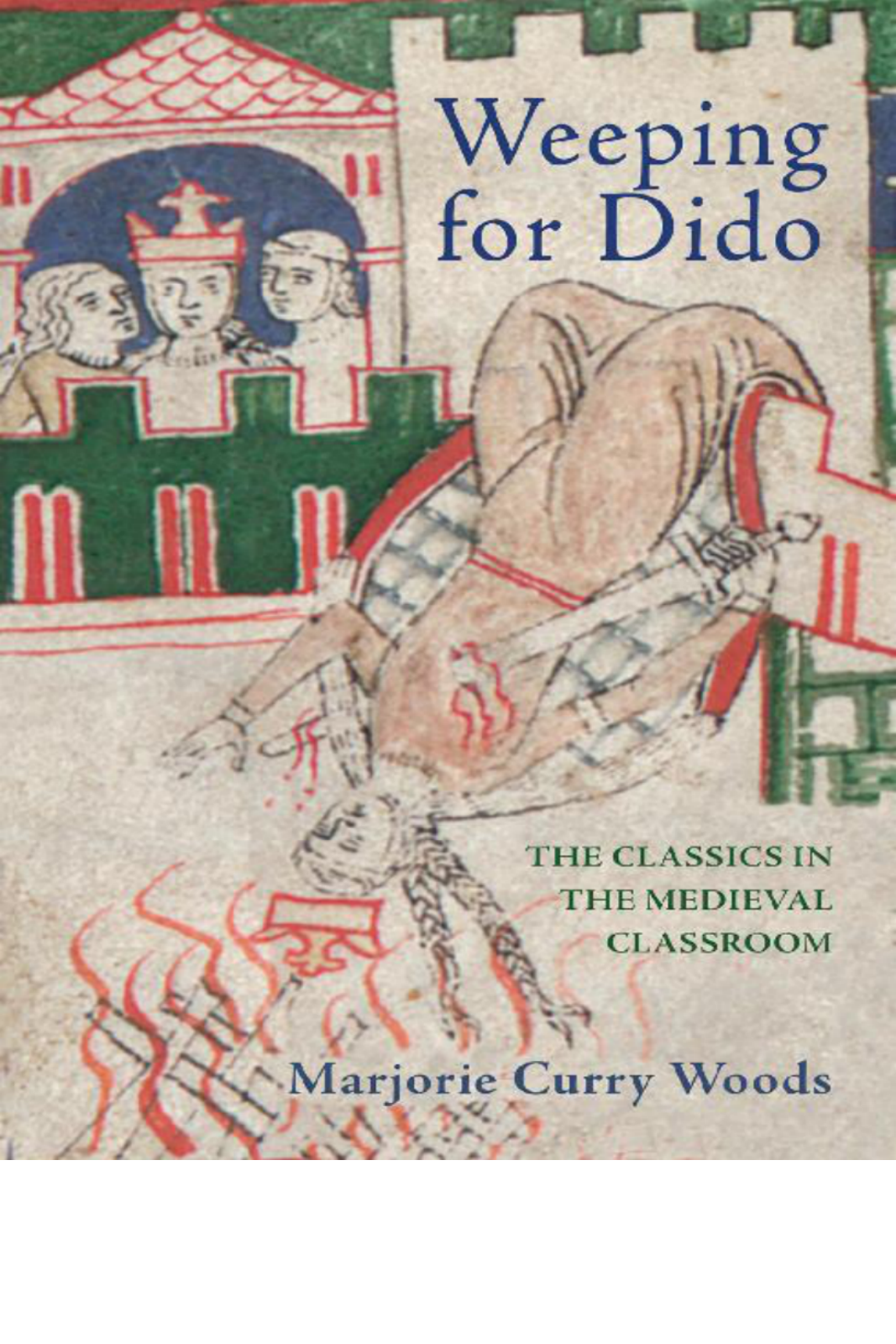
Weeping for Dido

THE CLASSICS IN
THE MEDIEVAL
CLASSROOM

Marjorie Curry Woods

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A medieval manuscript illustration. In the upper left, a king and queen are shown in profile, looking out from a castle window. The king wears a crown. Below them, a knight in full armor is falling from a horse. The horse is rearing up, and the knight is being thrown forward. The background shows a castle wall with battlements. The style is characteristic of a medieval manuscript, with bold outlines and a limited color palette of red, green, and brown on a parchment-like background.

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Contents

List of Images xi

Acknowledgments xv

Abbreviations, Sigla, and Rhetorical Terms xix

A Short Introduction 1

Chapter 1. Memory, Emotion, and the Death of a Queen: Teaching the *Aeneid* 13

Augustine and Dido / Dido's story / the effect of love / insinuation / Dido's suicide /
pathos and fantasy in the classroom / Creusa's ghost / memory and emotion /
abbreviating *Aeneid* 1–6 / empathy / speeches in school / neumes / relentless
glossing / Who is speaking? / public pain / repetition and anticipation / Augustine
redux

Chapter 2. Troy Books for Boys: Glosses on the *Achilleid* and *Ilias* *latina* 49

dazed and confused / Dante and Achilles / abandonment / Troy Books / the
medieval *Achilleid* / nurture and nature / changing *habitus* / *partes orationis* /
Achilles's "sister" / rape and an angry commentator / all is revealed / Deidamia's
lament / artificial order and coming full circle / the Latin Homer / bad Greeks and
good Trojans / daughter of the swan / death after death / name and nature /
divisions of the text / lists of the slain / weeping for Hector

Chapter 3. Boys Performing Women (and Men): The Classics and After 104

beyond gender / what we see / song and script / Dido's *pronuntiatio* and parts of a
speech / comedies? / boys performing girls and women / sex in the classroom /
boys performing men and gods / an angry goddess / composing female characters /
what earlier teachers knew / the afterlife of emotion / Dido, happy at last

Works Cited 153

Index Locorum 167

Manuscript Index 169

General Index 171

List of Images

Frontispiece 1. From Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4660, fol. 77v.

Illustration of Dido killing herself with a sword and falling backward into the flames, while Aeneas sails away below i

Frontispiece 2. Lincoln College, Oxford, Lat. 27, fol. 75r.

A commentator expressing surprise and disgust at the rape scene in the *Achilleid*, based in part on a misreading (see also [Image 3.3](#)) ii

Introduction Image A. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 685, fol. 59r.

Highlighting and glosses on the beginning of Dido's first speech to Aeneas after learning that he will leave her 6

Introduction Image B. Transcription and Translation. 7

1.1. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 3104, fol. 49r.

Framing squiggle highlighting Dido's comparison of her past with Aeneas's when she meets him and takes him into her palace 18

1.2. Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F. 2. 6, fol. 27r.

Framing squiggle highlighting both margins of Dido's first speech to Aeneas after learning that he will leave her (cf. Introduction Images, [Image 1.3](#), and [Image 3.1](#)) 37

1.3. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 18059, fol. 192r.

Musical notation (neumes) added to portions of Dido's first two speeches to Aeneas after learning that he will leave her 39

1.4. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Ham. 678, fol. 34v.

Marginal glosses identifying who is speaking while interlinear glosses emphasize the person most important to each speaker as Aeneas responds to Dido's first speech and she replies (cf. [Image 1.3](#)) 43

2.1. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Diez. B Sant. 4, fol. 169r.

Accessus (academic introduction) explaining how the story of Troy is divided among the *Achilleid* of Statius, the *Ilias latina*, and Virgil's *Aeneid* 55

2.2. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30, fol. 151v.

Identification and explanation of an epic simile about Deidamia in the *Achilleid* 70

2.3. London, British Library Harley 2560, fol. 32r.

Rhetorical divisions of Thetis's speech to King Lycomedes introducing Achilles's "sister" in the *Achilleid* 72

2.4. London, British Library Harley 2744, fol. 207r.

Informal drawing of Achilles's wife Deidamia holding their son while watching him sail away with Ulysses 84

2.5. Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. G. 57, fol. 6r.

Patronymics in the first lines of the *Ilias latina* highlighted and explained 91

2.6. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14496, fol. 117r.

Subdivisions of the *Ilias latina* according to a very late *accessus*; numbers added to the first five lines of the text rearrange them in prose word order 95

2.7. London, British Library Harley 2560, fol. 23v.

Manicula (pointing hand) highlighting both a line of the *Ilias latina* from Priam's speech to Achilles asking for Hector's body to be returned, as well as the interlinear glosses on that line 101

3.1. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 3147, fol. 81v.

Marginal gloss in the margin of the section of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* on performance, quoting all of Dido's first speech to Aeneas after finding out that he will leave her, then giving instructions for performing the conclusion 114

3.2. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 3114, fol. 210r.

Marginal glosses identifying the speakers in the rape scene in the school drama *Pamphilus* and interlinear glosses clarifying the actions 122

3.3. London, British Library Add. 17404, fol. 229v.

Marginal glosses identifying the actions in rape scene in the *Achilleid* (cf. [Frontispiece 2](#)) 125

3.4. London, British Library Add. 17404, fol. 46r.

Aeneas, sick at heart, exhorting his shipwrecked followers not to despair 129

3.5. London, British Library Add. 17404, fol. 227v.

Extravagant *manicula* highlighting the gloss that identifies Apollo's words channeled through the priest, Calchas 133

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All books are a form of collaboration, and in bringing this one to a close I am acutely aware of how much it owes to the pure pleasure of conversations with others. From early discussions with Jan Ziolkowski and Manfred Kraus about the surprising prominence of speeches by female characters in the rhetorical tradition to Peter Mack's helping me (again!) to bring my book to completion and send it off, the encouragement of friends and colleagues and their interest in my project has been a constant source of inspiration.

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Abbreviations, Sigla, and Rhetorical Terms

~~B~~ London, British Library

~~M~~ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex latinus monacensis

~~O~~ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

~~W~~ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

~~B~~ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

~~B~~ Bold curved brackets enclose interlinear and marginal glosses and comments (see “[A Short Introduction](#)”).

~~P~~ Paragraph marks in manuscripts are retained.

~~S~~ Square brackets in English text identify changes in quoted text or parentheses within parentheses; in Latin notes they identify letters that should be deleted and editorial information.

~~P~~ Pointed brackets in the Latin notes identify letters that have been added to a manuscript reading.

~~T~~ Three asterisks indicate an illegible or unintelligible reading.

~~C~~ Carets mark words added later.

Attributes of Characters / *Attributa personarum*

Inventional categories for creating convincing personas, based on Cicero’s *De inventione* (1.24.34–25.36; 2.9.28–11.37); in shortened form called Circumstances (*Circumstantiae*):

Nomen (Name)

Natura (Nature, e.g., human or divine, sex, race, place of birth, family, age, etc.)

Victus (Manner of Life, including “with whom reared, in what tradition and under whose direction [and with] what instructors in the art of living”)

Fortuna (Fortune, including “whether the person is a slave or free, rich or poor, a private citizen or an official with authority [and] the nature of his death”)

Habitus (the “acquisition of some capacity or of an art ... or some bodily dexterity not given by nature but won by careful training and practice”)

Affectio (Feeling, “for example joy, desire, fear, vexation”)

Studium (Intellectual Passion: “unremitting mental activity ardently devoted to some subject and accompanied by intense pleasure, for example interest in philosophy, poetry, geometry, literature”)

Consilium (Purpose: “a deliberate plan for doing or not doing something”)

Facta (Deeds), *Casus* (Accidents), *Orationes* (Speeches): all three to be “considered under three tenses of the verb: what he did, what happened to him, what he said: or what he is doing, what is happening to him, what he is saying; or what he is going to do, what is going to happen to him, what

language he is going to use”

Parts of a Speech / *Partes orationis*

Parts of a speech based on rhetorical doctrine in the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.6.4, elaborated 1.8.5–19 ff.), also found in slightly different form in Cicero’s *De inventione* (1.14.19–56.109); as applied during the Middle Ages to speeches in literary texts:

Introduction (*Exordium*), with an important subcategory of Insinuation / Subtle Approach (*Insinuatio*)

Narration / Statement of Facts, Events, Actions, etc. (*Narratio*)

Structure (*Divisio/Partitio*), often omitted or replaced during the Middle Ages by Request / Plea (*Petitio*) adopted from the Arts of Letter Writing

Proof / Support for Argument (*Confirmatio*)

Refutation / Consideration of Opposing Arguments (*Confutatio*), in medieval manuscripts often signaling a change of direction in the narrative

Conclusion (*Conclusio*), with subcategories of Exhortation (*Cohortatio*) and Lament / Complaint (*Conquestio*)

Tones of Voice

From the discussion of Delivery (*pronuntiatio*) in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3.11.19–15.25) as applied to speeches in literary texts during the Middle Ages:

Conversational Tone (*Sermo*) with subcategories of Dignified, Explicative, Narrative, and Facetious Speech (*Dignitatio, Demonstratio, Narratio, locatio*); appropriate for the Introduction, Statement of Facts, and Division (or Petition)

Tone of Debate (*Contentio*) with subcategories of Sustained and Broken Speech (*Continuatio, Distributio*); appropriate for the Confirmation and Refutation

Tone of Amplification with subcategories of Hortatory and Pathetic Speech (*Cohortatio, Conquestio*); appropriate for the Conclusion (cf. the subcategories of Conclusion above)

Weeping for Dido

A Short Introduction

We all learned stories in school. As I work on the history of teaching, or rather learning, both during the Middle Ages and now, I often ask myself, “What stories was I taught?” “Which do I remember most and why?” “What were the characters like?” “What did they make me feel—and see?” When I look at medieval school manuscripts for answers to the same questions, I find evidence that emotions, genders, and actions mattered then, as they did in my childhood and adolescence. Often the stories I remember most vividly focused on characters very different from me.

I first read in graduate school St. Augustine’s description of weeping for the death of Queen Dido in the *Aeneid*, the source of my title and the first example in this book. My graduate studies at the Centre for Medieval Studies directed me toward medieval Latin manuscripts, and the twenty-five years I spent working on the commentaries on a popular rhetorical treatise, the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, reinforced my sense of the importance of the glosses (annotations) written above the words of a text and in the margins.

The project discussed in the three chapters that follow, based on the E. H. Gombrich Lectures given at the Warburg Institute in 2014, has been a labor of love. I had become fascinated with the tradition of boys performing emotional speeches in women’s voices in schools and the evidence from manuscripts indicating that this tradition persisted during the Middle Ages, as well as before and after. I returned to the *Aeneid*, and in the meantime I had developed an admiration for two other texts much used in medieval schools but not well known now: the unfinished *Achilleid* of Statius, which in medieval manuscripts is treated as a complete work about an adolescent hero who pretends to be a girl (while proving himself to be a man); and the *Ilias latina* or Latin Homer, a condensation of the *Iliad* influenced by Virgil, that tells a version of the story foregrounding the pathos of the deaths of soldiers. What follows is based on an examination of more than 60 manuscripts of the *Aeneid*, 50 of the *Achilleid*, and 30 of the *Ilias latina*, each statistic but a fraction of the number extant. The manuscripts

quoted date from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries and were copied and/or glossed in Germany, Italy, England, and France. Because these chapters draw almost entirely from unedited manuscripts, they demand a great deal of readers, who are asked to pay close attention to very specific, sometimes cryptic comments of teachers and to take seriously the almost completely unfamiliar practice in which such teachers were engaged. A knowledge of Latin or of the works themselves is not necessary, however. The major emphasis is on what appears to have made the works attractive to the students, whether they were feeling Dido's pain, or mentally dressing in Achilles's women's clothes, or hamming it up while reciting a variety of scenes.

Boys were the primary medieval audience of the glossed manuscripts of these texts, which they read in school. Each of the chapters that follow begins with a boy: the historical Augustine who weeps for the suicide of a fictional queen; young Achilles waking up in a strange new land where he will be asked to pretend to be a young woman; and an anonymous boy in a medieval lyric poem who performs a woman's lament for her dead lover. Each provides a different window into three interrelated aspects of medieval teaching: emotion, gender, and performance, with special emphasis on emotion.

The history of emotion continues to be a powerful focus of scholarly energy, and this book contributes to the ongoing scholarly conversation.¹ Emotions were not taught in medieval schools for their own sake, but as effective and cogent aspects of the acquisition of the Latin language and the cultural capital of shared texts. This teaching took place in a single-sex environment: while the classical tradition does not appear to have been a significant part of medieval women's or girls' education, for many boys classical and pseudo-classical texts comprised a good portion of their pedagogical experience. Since medieval teaching was relentlessly practical, and what had worked earlier continued to be utilized, pagan Latin texts and works based on them remained one of the most fundamental learning experiences of those who became *litterati* until very, very late in the tradition. Even when texts of a more overtly (if superficially) Christian context appear to have overtaken the educational system, manuscripts show us that texts like those described in this volume were still copied and studied intensively.²

This approach to teaching is characterized by total concentration on the texts themselves: on the Latin words in which they were written. As a result, manuscripts of classical texts used in medieval schools rarely contain allegorizing commentary or other kinds of glosses that would draw attention away from the texts. Instead, glosses and comments (the terms are used interchangeably in this

study) on school texts reveal how almost every single word of a school text could be taken seriously. Interlinear glosses (written above the words of the text) explain grammatical relationships, build vocabulary, and create emphasis. Glosses written in the margin, which are typically longer, ensure comprehension of the narrative by providing summaries and paraphrases, identifications of speakers including authorial comments, and background information with which to understand action. The chapters that follow focus on these small pieces of evidence and various kinds of highlighting to try to capture a record of how and how closely medieval teachers and students engaged with these classical literary texts.

In [Introduction Image A](#) and [Introduction Image B](#) reproduced here, you can see this kind of cooperation in the glosses on the first four lines of Dido's most famous speech in the *Aeneid*: her outburst to Aeneas after finding out that he is about to leave her. [Introduction Image A](#) reproduces folio 59r of a late-fourteenth-century Italian manuscript in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 685.³ At the top of this image, the first four lines of Dido's speech (the third through the seventh lines on the manuscript page) are highlighted by a framing squiggle with a curlicue at the top.⁴ These four lines are further emphasized with **no^a**, the abbreviation for **{nota / note well!}** to the left of the first words of her speech.

Here are the four highlighted Latin lines in Stanley Lombardo's English translation:⁵

Traitor! Did you actually hope to conceal
This crime and sneak away without telling me?
Does our love mean nothing to you? Does it matter
That we pledged ourselves to each other?
Do you care that Dido will die a cruel death?

(*Aen.* 4.305–08; Lombardo 4.344–48)

In [Introduction Image B](#), I have transcribed the Latin lines of this passage along with their interlinear and marginal glosses.⁶ Below the transcription is a literal English translation. In both transcription and translation, the glosses and marginal comments are reproduced in bold and enclosed in curved brackets. Here and throughout this study, the abbreviations in the Latin text are expanded silently, but medieval orthography, capitalization, and punctuation (or lack thereof) are retained.

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TRANSCRIPTION

[Verba Didonis ad Eneam postquam
nouum recessus ipsius peruenit
ad aures suas]

{fingere} {habuisti spem} {o} crudelis
cogi} sine fide}

{Nota} Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum {nosti}

{celus [=scelus] {non loquendo tecum} {sperasti} {a}
ut recedens} {scilicet ut tu}

Posse nephas? tacitusque mea discedere terra? {quod certe tu non posses recedere
ita tacitus quod nescirem}

{non} {o perfide} {detinet} {fides}
{que est consociata fidey}

Nec te noster amor nec te data dext<e>ra quondam

{ex recessu} {non retinente quod non recedas
tuo} quasi dicat retinere debet}

{morte}

Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido? {enfasis}

TRANSLATION

{The words of Dido to Aeneas
after the news of his departure
reaches her ears}

{did you have
hope to be forced} {o
cruel, {to fake}
faithless}
{Note!} Did you hope, traitor, to conceal so great {[what] you knew [to be]}

{a wickedness, {not speaking with me} {did you hope} {from}
that is, leaving} {yes, you!}

A crime? and silent, to leave my land? {because at any rate you could not
leave so silently that I would not
{not} {o traitor} {oath} {detain} know
{which is joined to oath}

Does neither our love nor pledges ^ you
{as a result of your departure} {is not holding you back from leaving
as if she were saying it ought to}

{death}

Nor Dido, about to die facing cruel ruin, hold <you>? {emphasis!}

Introduction Image B. Transcription and Translation.

The interlinear glosses, as here sometimes multiple ones, simplify sentence structure and support comprehension. They usually start as high as possible above a line so that additional glosses can be added below later. (Thus, the gloss below **{emphasis}** at the end of these lines refers to the line following.) One reads the glosses vertically from the top of the space between the lines down toward the word: the gloss written lowest has been written last. For students listening, the glosses

were probably heard as continuous and sequential elaboration.

Some short glosses clarify grammar, such as the little {*o* / *o*} above “*perfidē* / traitor” in the first line of the speech, indicating that *perfidē* is in the vocative case (direct address).⁷ Others insert words from the text where they would occur in prose word order, as when {*perfidē*} itself is provided as a gloss later over “*te* / you” in the third line. Similarly, {*sperasti* / **did you hope**} over “*discedere* / to leave” in the second line is a word repeated from the first line, and the verb {*detinet* / **detain**} is supplied above the third line, because the verb “*tenet* / hold” is delayed until the end of the next line. Still others clarify meaning, and more: the adjective-conjunction combination “*tacitusque* / and silent” is first glossed {*non loquendo mecum* / **in not speaking with me**}, and then a second gloss emphasizes, {*scilicet ut tu*}, which I have freely translated as {**yes, you!**}.

Longer comments elaborate on the emotional content. When Dido asks Aeneas at the end of these lines why knowledge of her fate if he leaves does not deter him, the glossator adds, {**as if she were saying it ought to**}. Here he⁸ recognizes that, for Dido, Aeneas’s knowing that she will die should keep him from leaving her—but, of course, it does not. This elaboration, like the channeling of her pride and anger two lines earlier, {**because at any rate you could not leave so silently that I would not know!**}, keep us longer in Dido’s anger and pain. Near the bottom of the page this glossator marks as **No^d** {*Notandum* / **To be noted!**} another line in her speech where she begs Aeneas to remain with her. In the margin to the right of this line the glossator paraphrases her: {**that is, if my prayers succeed, withdraw from what is proposed, namely to want to go away**}, a gloss that is itself also marked {*Notandum*}.⁹ Thus, the lines where she is most self-delusional and heartbreaking are those to which the most attention is paid. When we slow down and read with as much attention as a medieval teacher could bring to a particular passage, we are helped not just to understand but also to feel what is happening to a character.

So far we have been *looking* at the glosses, as a teacher would have, but students more often *heard* them along with the text. Indeed, much medieval schooling took place by ear. During most of the Middle Ages and in most areas of western Europe, few students had their own manuscripts, and even when students were fortunate enough to have manuscripts in hand, they still heard, learned, and recited texts constantly and in groups. Thus, learning literature was a shared social experience, rather than an individual relationship with a physical, visually conveyed text, as became the more usual (although not universal) European practice in later centuries.

Therefore, throughout this book I have inserted the interlinear and

short marginal glosses into the text rather than reproducing them as they appear on the page and in [Introduction Image B](#). The glosses are in bold and in curved brackets, both in the manuscripts I cite and when quoting glosses quoted by other scholars. As a result, visually they stand out more than the text, an effect that may seem counterintuitive but that reinforces the emphasis of the classroom. When reading the result that follows, I would suggest reading the lines aloud, if possible with a different tone for the glosses, and best of all in a class or other group to approach the oral/aural experience of medieval students and to appreciate the added weight of the focus on Dido's emotional state that such glosses can provide.

{The words of Dido to Aeneas after the news of his departure reaches
her ears:}

{Note!}

“{O} {cruel, faithless} Traitor! Did you hope {did you have hope to be
forced}, to conceal {to fake} {what you knew to be} so great

A crime {a wickedness, that is, leaving}, and silently {not speaking with
me—yes, you!} {did you hope} to leave {from} my land?

{Because at any rate you could not leave so silently that I would
not know!}

Does neither {does not} our love {O traitor}, nor our pledges {oath which
is joined to oath} {detain} you?

Nor {does} Dido, about to die {as a result of your departure}, facing cruel
ruin {death!} hold you?”

{That is, she is not holding you back from leaving—as if she were
saying it ought to!}

As in this passage from the *Aeneid*, while women were overwhelmingly absent from this schoolboy classical world except in texts, their emotions permeated and sometimes dominated the classroom experience.

The pain and suicide of Queen Dido when her lover leaves her often remain a student's most powerful memory of the text, even today. Accordingly, I begin with the *Aeneid* since it is the work most likely to be known by the modern reader and scholar, moving next to the less familiar *Achilleid* of Statius and *Ilias latina*. In some parts of the chapters that follow, I return to passages that I have examined elsewhere but with new insights; in others, I analyze material to which I had not given much previous thought— but which the glosses taught me that medieval teachers considered important.

The first chapter allows us to spend more time with the attractive and doomed Dido as medieval manuscripts reveal their emphasis on her emotions, a focus illuminated by modern research on memory.[10](#) [Chapter 2](#) examines two short classical works read by students at a lower level, and the interlinear glosses are more basic. It is easy to

become impatient with them, but they imprint on us, too, the intimate, detailed knowledge of the words of the texts that the students imbibed. Both poems focus on issues of masculinity. In the *Achilleid*, the protagonist's mentors mirror his transitions from wild child to female impersonator to warrior in training, and his time pretending to be his own sister is framed by the fears first of his mother and then his lover (later wife). In the *Ilias latina* the increasing focus on death in battle evokes relentlessly the pathos of male characters, dying themselves or killing others. Yet the narrative ends with the grief of Hector's wife, Andromache, at his funeral. The third and final chapter looks at passages that beg for performance and at evidence for the recitation by boys of emotional scenes, often with female characters. The manuscripts discussed here fit squarely into an already established pedagogical tradition that begins long before and continues long after the "middle" ages.

I address the medieval teaching of literature from a transhistorical as well as historical perspective and in ways that I hope encourage comparison with other periods. This study is not meant to replace those of individual manuscripts or specific geographical areas or other interests of commentators, but rather to suggest that some commonalities exist among the often quite disparate pedagogical traditions of the Latin Middle Ages. Most generalizations about medieval schooling are pejorative with isolated examples of insight offered as counterpoints. I present instead recurring, interrelated threads of medieval pedagogy that can enable us to begin to see a broader picture. I hope that this study will be attractive and useful to all kinds of readers, from those for whom the medieval period is uncharted territory to those with prior expertise who may be trying to determine whether similar manuscript material they have found is generic or idiosyncratic. Fuller attention than one often finds is paid here to late manuscripts; more of these survive than manuscripts from any earlier period, and they provide compelling evidence of continuity in pedagogical approaches to classical texts that, I believe, can help us make more educated sense of the Western tradition as a whole.

¹ For an overview, see Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2015). Barbara Rosenwein's *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006) began the examination of the medieval period from this perspective; see also *Ordering Emotions in Europe, 1100–1800*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Leiden: Brill, 2015). The classroom resembles a specific kind of "emotional community" in Rosenwein's terms: a social setting where "people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions," p. 2. See also Martin Irvine's redirecting of what Brian Stock identifies as "textual communities" in *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983) toward the classroom in *The*

Making of Textual Culture: “Grammatica” and *Literary Theory, 350–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Irvine focuses on centuries earlier than those discussed here. On the impact of Aristotle’s treatment of the emotions in his *Rhetoric*, see Rita Copeland, “Pathos and Pastoralism: Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* in Medieval England,” *Speculum* 89 (2014): 96–127.

² This is a vast area of scholarship. In addition to the works cited in the chapters that follow, useful places to begin are the study by Jaakko Tahkokallio, “The Classicization of the Latin Curriculum and ‘The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century’: A Quantitative Study of the Codicological Evidence,” *Viator* 46.2 (2015): 129–54, and the bibliographies in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature Vol. I: 800–1558*, ed. Rita Copeland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Cf. also Craig Kallendorf, *The Protean Virgil: Material Form and the Reception of the Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 63.

³ On this manuscript see *Catalogo dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense*, vol. 6 [Ms. 501–Ms. 700], (Rome: Libreria del Stato, 1978), p. 192.

⁴ The term “framing squiggle” was suggested by my art historian colleague Joan Holladay. Scholars often simply refer to the technique generically as highlighting. Curved brackets were sometimes used in early printed books to indicate this kind of marking, as in the rather elegant versions on pp. 243 and 296 of the 1584 edition of Reginald Scott’s *The Discoverie of witchcraft: wherein the lewde dealing of witches & witchmongers is notablie detected....* (London: William Brome) in the Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas at Austin. Curved brackets are used here to a different purpose, however.

⁵ Stanley Lombardo’s translations of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2005) and Statius’s *Achilleid* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2015) have been used throughout whenever possible. His performance-based translations, while more informal and colloquial than others, are often supported by medieval rhetorical glosses and readings.

⁶ The glosses are all in Latin. (There are relatively few vernacular glosses in medieval Latin school manuscripts, although those that do exist have received more scholarly attention.) For medieval school glosses on other classical texts, see, for example, Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Frank T. Coulson, ed. and trans., *The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid’s Metamorphoses Book 1* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015); and Lisa Ciccone, ed., *Esegesi Oraziana nel medioevo: Il commento “Comuniter”* (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2016). For translations of medieval Latin glosses on a vernacular text see *Les Échéz d’Amours: A Critical Edition of the Poem and its Latin Glosses*, ed. Gregory Heyworth and Daniel E. O’Sullivan with Frank Coulson (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 607–72.

⁷ On the performance implications of the vocative {o} cue, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. 163.

⁸ “He” is used specifically to refer to male commentators and teachers. I have found no evidence in the manuscripts I looked at that they were prepared, annotated, read, or heard by women.

⁹ {idest si preces ualent mihi remoue te ab isto proposito, scilicet uelle recedere}.

¹⁰ The first Gombrich Lecture has been divided into this “[Short Introduction](#)” and [Chapter 1](#).

CHAPTER 1

Memory, Emotion, and the Death of a Queen

Teaching the *Aeneid*

I was forced to memorise the wanderings of Aeneas—whoever he was ... and to weep for the death of Dido, who killed herself for love.... I wept for Dido, slain as she sought by the sword an end to her woe.

—St. Augustine, *Confessions*¹

The schoolboy Augustine's dismissive reaction to Virgil's hero Aeneas in this passage is in stark contrast to his obsessive boyhood identification with Dido and her emotional pain. In a moving biography of the Bishop of Hippo, who lived from 354 to 430 CE, Serge Lancel tells us that Augustine as a “twelve-year-old ... loved Latin literature passionately, especially Virgil, the Virgil of the *Aeneid*, which he knew by heart.”² We are reminded that this schoolboy, later saint and Father of the Church, was raised on pagan literature, and that before his conversion he was an extremely successful teacher of Latin rhetoric. The famous description of his childhood and education in the *Confessions* is full of memorable details like hating Greek and stealing pears, but it also describes the beginning of his lifelong obsession with Virgil, the subject of more than one monograph.³ Peter Brown describes Augustine's education as “surprisingly meagre: he would have read far fewer classical authors than a modern schoolboy. Vergil, Cicero, Sallust and Terence were the only authors studied in detail. It was exclusively literary.”⁴ Yet the depth of this knowledge was profound and based on a complete internalizing of these texts. Brown continues, “A friend of Augustine's knew all Vergil and much of Cicero by heart.”⁵ In fact, Augustine believed that this friend could recite the works of the two authors both backward and forward.⁶

Yet while Augustine calls his own memorizing of Aeneas's wanderings a forced process (*cogebat*), he appears to remember Dido effortlessly, indeed almost against his will, and he associates that

memory with strong emotions, particularly his reaction to her death. Augustine's rhetorically powerful sequence of words associated with weeping and death fixes his own emotional reaction in our minds, as Dido became fixed in his.⁷ Furthermore, Augustine tells us that he craved this experience: he would weep when kept from the very texts that would make him weep.⁸ He chastises himself: "Nothing could be more pitiful than a pitiable creature who does not see to pity himself, and weeps for the death that Dido suffered through love of Aeneas and not for the death he suffers himself through not loving You, O God."⁹ This emphasis on pity and the pitiful (Augustine's Latin here is suffused with cognates of *miserere*) was a consistent aspect of this classroom experience.¹⁰

Who is this figure whom Augustine remembers so vividly? Dido enters the *Aeneid* in Book 1, when the Trojans, who have escaped shipwreck and Juno's anger (itself the subject of Augustine's school exercise discussed in [Chapter 3](#)), arrive on the shores of Africa. There Dido is queen, herself a refugee from Phoenicia and, as a gloss tells us, **{driven to Libya}** by her tragic past.¹¹ Dido's story, told in some detail by Venus to Aeneas before he sees her, is often summarized attentively in the margins of manuscripts, as if providing notes to a teacher telling the story to students:¹² Dido's greedy brother, Pygmalion, the King of Tyre, murdered her much-loved and very wealthy husband, Sychaeus, whose ghost appeared to her and told her to flee her homeland with his hidden treasure.

Dido is now regal, gracious, and welcoming, indeed the perfect ruler, to the Trojans who have arrived at her court fearing that their leader Aeneas is dead. In passages highlighted in a number of manuscripts, she exchanges formal speeches with Ilioneus, their spokesman.¹³

Suddenly, Aeneas appears before her, "Gleaming in the clear light, his face and shoulders / Like a god's" (*claraque in luce refulsit / os umerosque deo similis* [*Aen.* 1.588–89; Lombardo 1.720–21¹⁴]), thanks to help from his mother, Venus. While an Italian manuscript of the early fifteenth century suggests that *deo similis* (literally, "like a god") could mean **{as if a god in conduct}**,¹⁵ it is Aeneas's appearance and history that have the greatest effect on Dido, whose reaction to him reflects the beginning of her transformation from independent queen to lover. A number of manuscripts identify her first words to Aeneas, where she flatters and reassures him with her knowledge of his background and sad history, as a *captatio benevolentiae*, the rhetorical term from letter-writing manuals for capturing the goodwill of the listener (although Aeneas himself is technically the supplicant).¹⁶ The manuscript whose glosses are quoted in the Introduction, for example, identifies this speech in the margin as **{the words of Dido to Aeneas**

in capturing his good will}, having said just above that she {is gripped with admiration} for him.¹⁷ In the fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Aeneid* in Munich glossed by the famous humanist and bibliophile Hartmann Schedel (Clm 261), too, it is Dido who {is capturing good will}.¹⁸ Another widely shared comment occurs in three German copies, two from the twelfth century (BL Add. 21910 and Clm 21562) as well as Schedel's much later manuscript. In these manuscripts her questioning of Aeneas about his past misfortunes is described as {admiring rather than interrogating}.¹⁹ A gloss in Clm 21562 explains, {Dido knows what has happened from what the Trojan [Ilioneus] recounted}.²⁰ Dido ends her speech by emphasizing her shared pain as an exile and her public acceptance of Aeneas thereafter. In [Image 1.1](#), these lines in a heavily glossed, fifteenth-century northern manuscript are highlighted with a framing squiggle down the bottom left margin—just a small part of the barrage of information offered on this manuscript page (ÖNB Cod. 3104, fol. 49r). Here in Stanley Lombardo's translation are the highlighted lines:

Infesta domum sumus, exeat domum morbo vnde
 Instabimus, quia polus domum sidera palat
 Temp' heros, nomenq' omni laudisq' manebit
 O me, meumq' vocant sic, si fatis amio
 Post alios fortassis gran' fortassis cleophrin
 Obliuiscit, sine aspectu sidera dicit
 Casu deinde vix, tanto et sic ore loquente
 Quis te nate dea, p' tantu' picula casus
 In ne, ille curis que dardanio iactat
 Alma genus phrygiu' genuit, summatu' in vna
 Atq' eundem sanguinem memi' sidera vnde
 Similis expulsi patris, nona regna potente
 Tuiusq' bellis, quibus omni delus opusq'
 Instabat, apulum i' vltor' detione trahit
 Temp' iam ex illo casus in cognitus vobis
 Te nunc nomenq' tui regisq' p' d' m
 Ipe hostes, tuncos in hunc laude prebit
 Sed etiam, antiqua reuerentia thipe voluit
 Quare agere o tectis muner' laudisq' vne
 Me quosq' p' multos similes forma laborat
 Lustrato, hac demum p' d' m, p' d' m
 Non ignis, multi muner' laudisq' vne
 Sic memozat, simul eundem in terra dunt
 Tectis, simul dunt, tectis, tectis, tectis
 Nec minus vna, tectis, ad litora munit
 Vignis, tectis, magnosq' holentia centum
 Tectis, tectis, p' d' m, tectis, tectis
 Mmura, tectis, tectis, tectis, tectis
 At domus, tectis, tectis, tectis, tectis

1.1. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 3104, fol. 49r.

"My fortune too has long been adverse,
 But at last has allowed me to rest in this land.
 My own acquaintance with suffering
 Has taught me to aid others in need."
 Thus Dido, and as she led Aeneas into her palace
 She proclaimed sacrifices in his honor
 In all the temples.

(Aen. 1.628–32; Lombardo 1.768–74)

Taking advantage of Dido's obvious attraction to Aeneas, his mother, Venus, uses her other son, Cupid, to make Dido fall

obsessively and tragically in love with the Trojan leader.²¹ According to Schedel's manuscript, **{Here he shows the effect of love, and what Dido herself did, led by a love of Aeneas sent by Cupid}.²²** Asked by Dido to tell of his experiences, Aeneas relates in Books 2 and 3 the story of the downfall and burning of Troy, including the loss of his wife, Creusa, and the subsequent wanderings of the Trojans.

Dido's response, her love and final suicide, unfold in Book 4 with **{pathos at the end, when the departure of Aeneas creates anguish}**, as one of the twelfth-century German manuscripts puts it.²³ According to a summary at the beginning of Book 4 in a fourteenth-century Italian manuscript (BL Add. 17404), **{The fourth book ... contains the feelings (*affectiones*), that is the loves, of Dido, although in the end it has pathos and passions (*passiones*), for he narrates there how Dido kills herself. Hence the general theme of the whole book is the love of Dido and how she killed herself.}²⁴**

Book 4 begins with a speech of Dido's in which she expresses her feelings about Aeneas to her sister, Anna. The queen sets forth both her attraction to Aeneas and her fears for the future should she enter into a union with him: she has taken a vow never to marry again. She is torn, although some manuscripts see her vacillation as a deliberate attempt to have her objections overridden, as in the same British Library manuscript (Add. 17404), where her speech is doubly identified as an Insinuation: **{Insinuatve discourse. A beautiful Introduction, an Insinuation}.²⁵** In his discussion of this kind of introduction, or *exordium*, in the *De inventione* (widely known in the Middle Ages²⁶), Cicero notes that Insinuation (or the Subtle Approach) should be used when a scandal might be involved (*Inv.* 1.23), as would be the case with Dido.²⁷ From the point of view of this commentator, Dido is successful, for Anna's response is glossed in the margin as **{The answer of her sister Anna to Dido that she not fight love but rather follow through}.²⁸** Dido and Aeneas become lovers while seeking shelter in a cave during a savage storm arranged by Juno and Venus. There, according to the summary at the beginning of Book 4 in this manuscript, **{Aeneas had carnal knowledge of her, and Rumor (*Fama*) of this was made public}.²⁹** The much-celebrated personification of *Fama* spreads knowledge of the continuing affair to Dido's subjects and incites the enmity of envious neighboring rulers, who would like to be in Aeneas's place—literally.

But then Aeneas receives a blunt reminder from the gods that he must continue on his mission to found another Troy in Italy. When Dido discovers that Aeneas is leaving, she becomes increasingly frantic and engages in a sequence of powerful speeches.

Finally she comes to tragic terms with his departure. As Aeneas is sailing away, Dido constructs a pyre topped with the bedding on

which they have slept and the possessions he has left behind—the material remains of their life together. The queen tells Anna that the conflagration will enable her (with a witch’s help) to move on from the relationship. Instead, she climbs on top of the pyre and **{after most excellent words have been uttered, she kills herself with his sword}**.³⁰

The illustration reproduced in [Frontispiece 1](#) depicts an especially dramatic version of Dido’s suicide in the famous *Carmina Burana* manuscript.³¹ It follows a series of laments based on the Trojan War (and Dido), several of which are discussed in [Chapter 3](#). On the right of the top half of the illustration, Dido is throwing herself backward off the parapet of a castle, her braids and crown already falling into the pyre, while stabbing herself with a sword. The pattern of her flowing blood resembles that of the fire below. A colleague refers to this depiction of her as “Cirque-du-Soleil Dido,” a phrase that captures some of the extravagant physicality of the scene.

The attraction of such a dramatic and doomed figure, even or perhaps especially to schoolboys, is not hard to understand. Augustine himself was probably around twelve years old when he was studying the *Aeneid*, and medieval students—for whom Latin was not a vernacular but an acquired, more difficult language as Greek was for Augustine—were at least this old and probably a little older when they encountered it. Although as an adult Augustine was guilt-ridden for having felt Dido’s emotions more powerfully than his own, such immersion and luxuriating in the pain of literary characters allowed schoolboys to experience varieties of emotion not encouraged or even tolerated outside the classroom, and these created memories that could last a lifetime.

The allure of stories full of pathos, fantasy, danger, and death may be one of the most important aspects of the longevity and success of this aspect of the classical tradition, an attraction illustrated by the other parts of the *Aeneid* that Augustine liked most when he was in school, all found in Book 2: “the Wooden Horse with its armed men, and Troy on fire, and Creusa’s ghost.”³² Soldiers hiding in the Trojan Horse and the burning of Troy might be expected schoolboy interests no matter what period.³³ Creusa, however, was another woman abandoned by Aeneas: his Trojan wife inadvertently left behind during the escape from Troy at the end of Book 2 of the *Aeneid*. She had been walking several paces behind her husband, who, in the iconic image of the flight from Troy, was carrying his father on his shoulders and leading his son by the hand. When Aeneas realizes that Creusa is not with them at the refugee camp whither the Trojans have fled, he returns to the burning city and frantically searches for her. Suddenly, her “sad ghost” appears to him (*Aen.* 2.772; Lombardo 2.912). The

interlinear glosses in BL Add. 17404 can help us see how even just this phrase might help us understand classroom practice. One way to look at such glosses is as answers to possible questions: Why is the ghost sad? What is an image (*simulacrum*)? A shade (*umbra*)? Who is Creusa? The glosses on the phrase in this manuscript provide answers: “The sad **{on account of death}** image **{figure}** **{is visible to me}**, the shade **{spirit}** of Creusa **{my wife}** herself.”³⁴

A completely different approach to interlinear glossing is taken in a thirteenth-century Italian manuscript in Berlin, SBB Ham. 678, where the fifteenth-century interlinear glosses focus relentlessly on interpersonal relationships. The cumulative, repetitive effect of the names in the glosses on the words of Creusa’s ghost to Aeneas emphasizes the close bond of husband and wife now severed, to be replaced by a yet-unknown relationship in Aeneas’s future:

“What good does it do **{you}**, **{O Aeneas}** my sweet husband
To indulge **{that is, to reach out}** in such mad grief? These things
{concerning me} **{and others}**
Do not happen without the will of the divine ones **{that is, the gods}**.
You may not take your Creüsa **{that is, me, your wife}** with you **{***}**;
The Lord of Olympus does not allow it **{namely that you bring me, Creusa,**
to that place}.
Long exile is yours **{Aeneas}**, plowing a vast stretch
Of sea **{that is, by furrows of ships}**. Then you will come to Hesperia **{that**
is, Italy}....
There **{namely in Italy}**, happy times **{for you}**,
Kingship, and a royal wife **{namely Lavinia, daughter of the King of**
Latium} **{namely will be}** yours.
Dry your tears **{O Aeneas}** for your beloved Creusa **{once your wife}**....
The Great Mother **{Ceres or Cybele}** keeps me **{Creusa}** on these shores.
Farewell **{O Aeneas}**, and keep well the shared **{namely, your and my}**
love of our child **{that is, Iulus}**.”

(*Aen.* 2.776–89; based on Lombardo, 2.915–33)³⁵

Then comes a wrenching scene of separation:

Creüsa spoke, and then left me there,
Weeping, with many things yet to say.
She vanished into thin air. Three times
I tried to put my arms around her; three times
Her wraith slipped through my hands,
Soft as a breeze like a vanishing dream.

(*Aen.* 2.790–94; Lombardo 2.934–39)

Classicists will recognize here the Homeric echoes of Odysseus’s trying three times to embrace the shade of his mother, a reference noted among the very late glosses in an eleventh-century manuscript of the

Aeneid in the Biblioteca Corsiniana (43 E 9): **{From Book 11 of the *Odyssey* where he brings in the one wanting to embrace his mother}**.³⁶ In contrast, the glosses in the Berlin manuscript highlight the final painful separation of two who had been together. Since one of the glosses, **{pectus rei / chest of the thing}**, refers to the apparition as a thing, and since no gendered word occurs earlier in these lines, as an experiment I have substituted “it” for “she” in the following more literal translation of Virgil’s lines interspersed with the Berlin glosses:

When it **{namely Creusa}** gave these words, with **{me Aeneas}** weeping,
Wanting to say many things, it vanished into thin air.

Three times **{I was}** trying to put my arms around the neck **{namely Creusa’s}**;

Three times **{I}** reached **{toward the chest of the thing}** in vain; the image
{namely of Creusa} slipped through my hands **{*** since he was catching only air}**

Like **{that is similar to}** a soft breeze, most similar to a vanishing dream.³⁷

Schoolboys at liminal stages may have felt a particular attraction to the pain of abandonment, and not just Dido’s or Creusa’s, but also that of Aeneas himself, for it is he who is left behind in this last scene.³⁸ Indeed, in another thirteenth-century Italian manuscript in the British Library, Harley 2744, a sketch of Aeneas’s weeping profile (too light to be reproduced) has been attached to the first lines of her speech. It is squeezed between the text and the gloss that introduces it: **{The words of Creusa wife of Aeneas to Aeneas, who nevertheless already had died}** (fol. 61r).³⁹ Below, the description of his reaching for her when she stops speaking is highlighted with a framing squiggle. While this manuscript contains only sporadic interlinear glossing, a number of small drawings in more than one style have been attached to emotional speeches or scenes. These usually but not always follow certain conventions: men in profile, heads only, women turned three quarters (see [Image 2.4](#) in the next chapter). That such sketches brought added emotional emphasis is suggested by Anthony Grafton’s description of a much later profile added to Guillaume Budé’s printed copy of Plutarch’s *Life of Homer* as “a slightly gloomy profile in the left margin—a visually as well as substantively memorable device—to make a statement about the text.”⁴⁰

Simply turning the folios of manuscripts shows us what parts of a work those who highlighted the text and added glosses considered important, that is, worthy of attention and emphasis.⁴¹ Many concentrate on pathetic and moving passages, which appear to have been cultivated as an aid to learning. They stay in the memory,

sometimes to a disturbing degree: an effect that was, I suggest, a deliberate part of the pedagogy that focused on this text.⁴² Students were encouraged to internalize the emotions of figures like Creusa and Dido as part of their learning of Latin, a form of immersion language pedagogy.⁴³

The connection between emotion and learning, especially memorization, which medieval teachers also appear to have known, has been a focus of modern research which concludes that “inducing emotional arousal is one way of creating stronger memory.”⁴⁴ It has even been asserted that “the fundamental function of high levels of emotion is to empower the memory system.”⁴⁵ Emotionally arousing narrative is more memorable,⁴⁶ and the glosses in manuscripts of the *Aeneid* and other texts suggest the strong pedagogical connection between narrative and emotion generated in a group setting.⁴⁷ Thus, a growing body of research can help us understand how the *Aeneid* and the emotions it generated were vehicles of creating textual and linguistic memory.⁴⁸ Since “emotional arousal enhances long-term memory for word association,” and “extensive repetition strengthens our memory for words,”⁴⁹ emotional content may have made the close attention to the text, the endless word-for-word variation and commentary that was necessary in the medieval classroom, more bearable and even desirable from a pedagogical standpoint, for “highly rehearsed material, such as the alphabet, [and] favourite poems, ... is accurately remembered and rarely forgotten.”⁵⁰ In this study I examine medieval school manuscripts for evidence of glosses suggesting a connection between memory and strong emotion reflecting sound pedagogical practice and immersion.

Thus, the most important purpose of the emphasis on pathetic scenes in many medieval manuscripts of classical texts like the *Aeneid* was probably mnemonic.⁵¹ We can see this association in action in a short, probably thirteenth-century gloss in the margin of a late-twelfth-century French(?) manuscript in the British Library, Burney 273.⁵² It lists emotional events as the focus of the first six books of the *Aeneid*.⁵³ Only seven lines long and encircled with a wavy line forming a simple cartouche, this gloss literally encapsulates the narrative as follows:

{In the first book is contained
the *miseratio* of Dido, in
the second the death of Creusa, in
the third the death of Anchises,
in the fourth of Dido, in
the fifth of Palinurus, in
the sixth of Marcellus.}⁵⁴

The summary form makes it easy to remember.⁵⁵ All but one of the

references are to deaths, and two are among the schoolboy Augustine's favorite scenes.⁵⁶ Dido is the memory key to two of the six books, while Aeneas is not mentioned. Her *miseratio* is the focus of the first book according to this scheme, and, although *miseratio* usually means pity or compassion, it can also mean pathos. Thus, the *miseratio Didonis* in Book 1 could refer to her commiseration for the shipwrecked Aeneas because of her "own acquaintance with suffering" (*miseris*, *Aen.* 1.630, Lombardo 1.770), or to the final description of her as "unhappy" (*infelix*) because of what is to come (*Aen.* 1.749; Lombardo 1.919).⁵⁷ The next five books are all identified with a death: that of Creusa in Book 2, Aeneas's father in Book 3, Dido in Book 4 of course, and Aeneas's pilot Palinurus in Book 5—a death that leaves Aeneas adrift in more ways than one. Finally, in Book 6 is described the death, or rather the short future life foretold, of Marcellus, the son of Octavia, sister to the emperor.⁵⁸

Yet this summary gloss is located in the manuscript at the end of Book 3, at the transition from the death of Anchises, father of Aeneas, to the death of Dido in Book 4. If it is a purely mnemonic device, why place it here, rather than at the beginning of Book 1 or the end of Book 6? The answer, as well as the meaning of Dido's *miseratio*, becomes clear when we realize that this gloss in BL Burney 273 is a reworking of part of Servius's gloss on the last line of Book 3.⁵⁹ There Servius identifies first the subject matter of Books 1–6 and then that of their endings, and the latter part of his analysis is the inspiration for our gloss:

{He allotted specific subjects to specific [books]: forebodings to the first, pathos to the second, wanderings to the third, character to the fourth, celebration to the fifth, and knowledge to the sixth. He varies the conclusions in such a way that in the first was the *miseratio* of Dido, in the second the death of Creusa, in the third of Anchises, in the fourth of Dido, in the fifth of Palinurus; in the sixth he mourns the early death of Marcellus}.⁶⁰ (Serv. *Ad Aen.* 3.718)

Thus, the Servian context clarifies that Dido's *miseratio* refers to a passage near the ending of Book 1, where "Dido, / Unhappy woman, prolonged the night / With varied conversation / And drank deeply the long draught of love" (*Aen.* 1.748–49; Lombardo 1.918–21).⁶¹

The repurposing of the gloss in the medieval manuscript ignores Servius's listing of the content of each of the first six books as a whole, focusing instead on what Servius describes as the endings, but seeing them as the major components of the books and emphasizing their parallelism.⁶² I do not know whether the person who added this gloss to the *Aeneid* in the Burney manuscript was the one who adapted it from Servius. That the gloss is placed next to the text where it is found in Servius would certainly suggest that this glossator, or someone from

whom that person or an earlier scribe was copying, knew its origin and deliberately simplified it.

While connections between memory and emotion are important for our understanding the intentions of teachers, modern research on empathy can help us to understand responses of schoolboys like Augustine's to Dido.⁶³ In *Empathy and the Novel*, Suzanne Keen suggests that the perception of fictionality "enhance[s] the work's opportunity to evoke emotion, by relieving readers of any sense of real-world obligation to act, while they engage in fictional world-making."⁶⁴ When the adult Augustine was writing the *Confessions*, he was at pains to emphasize the spiritual poverty of his boyhood emotional identification with fictional characters like Dido and Creusa, yet their pervasive power underscores this modern conclusion.⁶⁵

In addition, two of the hypotheses for future research put forth by Suzanne Keen would, if they are borne out by experiment, be particularly relevant to the experience of Augustine and that of later medieval students. For example, she suggests, "Empathic responses to fictional characters and situations occur more readily for negative feeling states, whether or not a match in the details of experience exists,"⁶⁶ and those emotions leading to Dido's suicide would certainly qualify as highly negative. Confirmation of another of Keen's hypotheses, that "empathy for fictional characters may require only minimal elements of identity, situation, and feeling, not necessarily complex or realistic characterization,"⁶⁷ would help to explain why the intensity of Dido's pain was more significant than her gender in generating Augustine's response to her. By implication, comparatively simple and straightforward characters might generate empathy more readily than more sophisticated literary creations: we know that the stark simplicity of Dido's story held Augustine in thrall, whereas the more complex character and conflicted emotions of Aeneas left him cold—a not uncommon reaction in the classroom even today.

These minimal requirements may be why premodern empathy with fictional characters may not have translated into empathy with real persons who shared with such characters other qualities of overriding significance to us, such as gender. Some historians of later periods have postulated that the reading of certain kinds of texts, specifically novels exploring the emotions of fictional women in pain, led to greater social awareness and action during later centuries.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, this attractive proposition is not supported for the premodern period,⁶⁹ and additional neurological research cited by Keen calls it into question for later periods as well.⁷⁰

While such findings may disappoint those for whom classroom experience is valued primarily for its effects on later adult behavior,

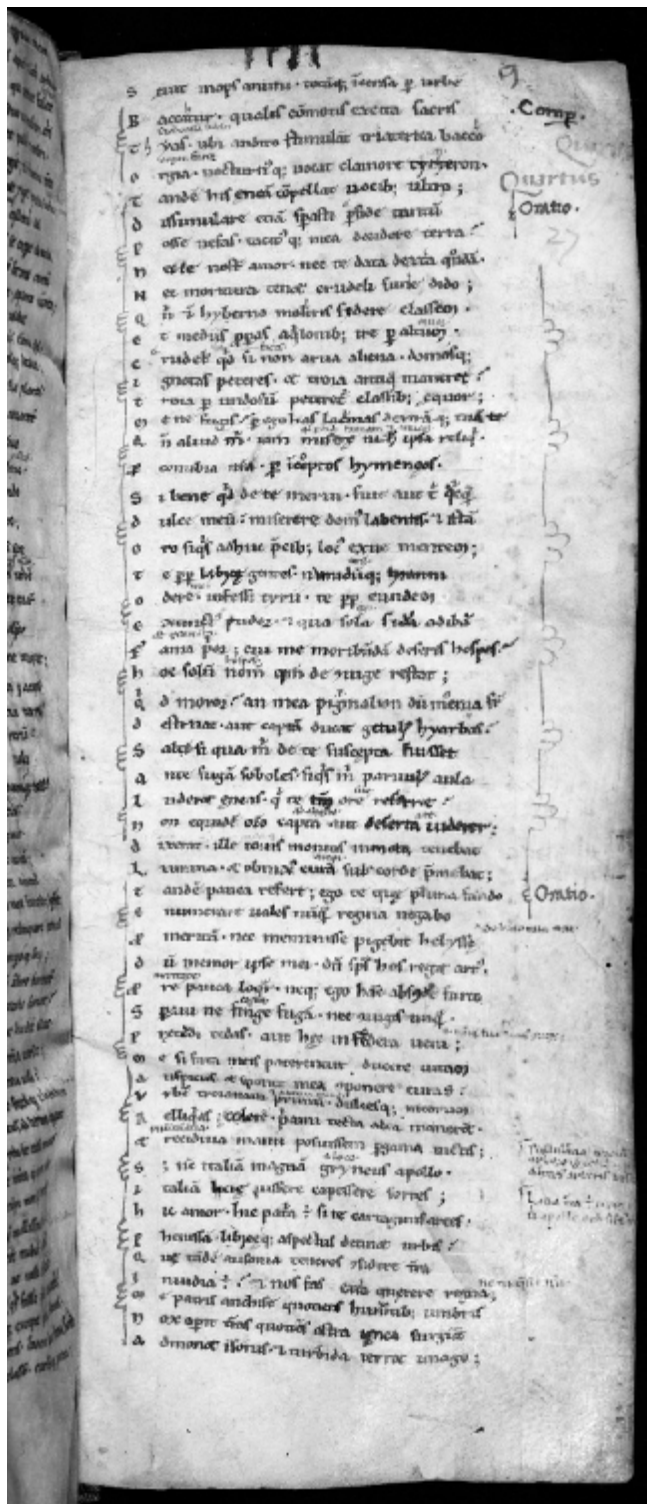
they do suggest that the classroom can function as an escape from the world outside: the exploration of forbidden or impossible actions and feelings may be one of the great possibilities of the classroom in any period. Taking on the emotion of a character can become an extension of the self, a projection, a fantasy. An emotional connection with the patently unreal could, therefore, have an especially profound effect in an environment focused on the learning, the imprinting, of literary texts. In a single-sex environment, furthermore, gender can be as exotic as divine nature or royal status.

Although Augustine's overwhelming emotional reaction to Dido may be the earliest and most famous schoolboy reminiscence of her, the *Aeneid* became a school text almost immediately after it was written, and medieval school manuscripts of the *Aeneid* manifest a classroom emphasis on her emotions, particularly her speeches. Speeches in general are some of the most noted and highlighted passages in manuscripts of classical texts, and glosses identifying who is speaking (and often to whom) are among the most common kind of gloss in all medieval manuscripts of narrative texts, including vernacular works like Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.⁷¹ Recall the attention to Creusa in the glosses cited above, which supports Jan M. Ziolkowski's conclusion about emotional highlighting in medieval manuscripts: "Speeches that give utterance to the passions of women in matters of love are singled out for close attention."⁷² They were not treated in isolation, however: entire texts were studied in classrooms.

An obvious emphasis on speeches occurs in a twelfth-century, possibly French, manuscript containing the *Aeneid* and related texts now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford ([Image 1.2](#); Auct. F. 2. 6, fol. 27r).⁷³ The dominant focus of the highlighting in this manuscript is on speeches. Every speech in Book 4 is clearly identified in the margin with **{Oratio}** and marked with a framing squiggle down one margin. But Dido's first terrible speech to Aeneas after she hears that he will leave is highlighted down both margins (apparently at different times), as you can see in [Image 1.2](#). In contrast, Aeneas's measured, some would say tepid, response below and her reaction on the following verso page are highlighted along only one side.

The most compelling evidence of an emphasis on emotion in the classroom comes from a group of continental school manuscripts of classical texts copied between ca. 900 and 1200 CE, which have been studied in detail most recently by Ziolkowski.⁷⁴ During the tenth through the twelfth centuries, in France, Italy, and especially central Europe, musical notation called neumes was sometimes added to metrically difficult or intensely emotional passages of manuscripts of certain classical texts. The latter type of passages are often speeches in the voices of female characters that appear to have been neumed

because of their emotional content.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know what they sounded like when performed.⁷⁶



1.2. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Auct. F. 2. 6, fol. 27r. Courtesy The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford.

In [Image 1.3](#) from an eleventh-century German manuscript in Munich, we see neumed sections of Dido's two speeches after learning that Aeneas will leave (Clm 18059, fol. 192r⁷⁷). They occur almost side by side in this large, two-columned manuscript from the Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee. In the left-hand column, the neumes (they look like checks or slashes above lines of verse) mark the turning point in the middle of Dido's first speech to Aeneas, the initial lines of which were discussed in the Introduction. In this part of her speech Dido shifts from anger at Aeneas to begging him to stay. Imagine the following lines sung by an adolescent boy or group of boys:

Has been snuffed out, the good name I once had,
 My only hope to ascend to the stars.
 To what death do you leave me, dear guest
 (The only name I can call the man
 I once called husband):”

(*Aen.* 4.314–24; Lombardo 4.354–68)

While the practice of neuming stops ca. 1200, glosses in later manuscripts also draw attention to the emotional power of these lines, but in different ways. The manuscript reproduced in [Introduction Image A](#), which is notable for its psychological insight, highlights several lines in this section. Three lines from the bottom of that image, **{To be noted!}** is added in the margin next to the line beginning “*Oro, si quis ...*” / “And if there is still room for prayers, I beg you” (*Aen.* 4.319; Lombardo 4.360). In the right-hand margin, a gloss rephrases the line as **{that is, if prayers have power for me, draw back from what has been arranged, namely wishing to go away}**. This gloss itself is also marked, **{To be noted!}**, and on the verso side of the folio (not reproduced), another **{To be noted!}** marks where Dido says that her honor has been “snuffed out” along with her reputation, her “only hope to ascend to the stars” (*Aen.* 4.322; Lombardo 4.364–65).⁷⁸ Below, when she says that “dear guest” is “The only name I can call the man / I once called husband” (*Aen.* 4.3.23–24; Lombardo 4.4.366–68), a long (for this manuscript) gloss elaborates coldly: **{I can say nothing else concerning you, except that you have become a guest, since you retreat so quickly from the name of spouse}**.⁷⁹

On this passage in SBB Ham. 678, the same kind of glosses stressing interpersonal connections between Creusa and Aeneas quoted above reinforce to devastating effect the sense of intimacy with Aeneas that Dido is trying unsuccessfully to recreate. Following are the most important glosses on the first few lines in Ham. 678 of the section neumed in Clm 18059:

“Is it **{Isn’t it}** me **{namely Dido}**? Is it me you are fleeing?

By these tears, **{I beg}**⁸⁰ you **{namely Aeneas}**, by your right hand,

Which is all I **{namely Dido}** have left, by our wedding vows **{namely, I beg you, Aeneas}**,

By the nuptials⁸¹ we have entered upon **{I beg you, Aeneas}**....”⁸²

Aeneas responds that they were never married and that greater things are in store for him anyway.⁸³ The glosses on the conclusion of Aeneas’s response in the same manuscript, reproduced beginning on line 10 of [Image 1.4](#) (SBB Ham. 678, fol. 34v), highlight Aeneas’s current overriding responsibilities, not to Dido, but rather to his son

and the gods. The only time in Aeneas's speech that Dido is named in a gloss is in the last line where Aeneas dismisses her and her entreaties. Instead, the glosses obsessively and repetitively focus on the all-male nexus of responsibilities within which Aeneas now places himself.

“My dear son, Ascanius {**namely deters**} me {**Aeneas**} and the wrong to the dear person {**of my son**} {**namely deters me, Aeneas**},

Whom {**namely Ascanius**} I cheat {**namely by staying here and not going**} of a kingdom in Hesperia {**that is, Italy**} and of destined lands {**that is, of Italian lands destined for that same Ascanius my son**}

And now the gods' herald {**namely Mercury**}, sent by Jove himself, (I swear by their heads {**namely of Jove and Mercury**}⁸⁴), has delivered {**namely to me, Aeneas**}

Orders {**namely that I must depart from here**} through the rushing winds. I myself {**I Aeneas**} saw the god {**namely Mercury**}, in broad daylight, Entering the walls {**namely of the house**}, and heard with these {**my**} ears the very words {**namely of that Mercury**}.

So {**O Dido**} stop wounding me {**Aeneas**} and you {**Dido**} with your pleas.”⁸⁵

1.4. bpk Bildagentur / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Berlin, Germany / Art Resource, NY. Ms. Ham. 678, fol. 34v.

The marginal comment on the left rearranges and clarifies several of the lines: **{Now etc. Now the gods' herald, sent by Jove himself, has come down to me through the rushing winds with orders of Jove himself. And I swear by both their heads, namely of Mercury and Jove}.**⁸⁶

Next are two short but large and legible glosses in the middle of the left margin, indicating changes in speaker. The first, **{Loquitur Auctor / The author is speaking}**, identifies the lines describing Dido's reaction to Aeneas's words:⁸⁷ "While he is speaking she looks him up and down / With icy, sidelong glances, stares at him blankly" (*Aen.* 4.362–64; Lombardo 4.416–17). The second, **{Loquitur Dido Enee / Dido is speaking to Aeneas}**, glosses the description of how her response to Aeneas should be performed: "And then [she] erupts into volcanic fury" (*Aen.* 4.364; Lombardo 4.418). In the lines that follow she separates Aeneas from his glorious ancestry, and again the glosses in this manuscript focus on relationships: "**{Your} mother {was} no goddess {namely, Venus}, nor {was} Dardanus {namely Anchises} progenitor of your line {that is, you were not the son of Venus nor of Anchises}, / You traitor {O Aeneas}.**"⁸⁸

The next section of her speech is in stark contrast. She suddenly starts speaking about Aeneas in the third person, and the gloss tells us to whom she is speaking: **{Dido speaks not to Aeneas but to those listening, about the cruelty of that very Aeneas}.**⁸⁹ In the second column of the manuscript in [Image 1.4](#), in the lines that are neumed (that is, sung), her tone has shifted from wrath to despair and ends in terror:

"Ah, why should I hold back? Did he sigh as I wept?
Did he even look at me? Did he give in to tears
Or show any pity for the woman who loved him?
What shall I say first? What next? It has come to this—
Neither great Juno nor the Saturnian Father
Looks on these things with impartial eyes.
Good faith is found nowhere. I took him in,
Shipwrecked and destitute on my shore,
And insanelly shared my throne with him.
I recovered his fleet and rescued his men.
Oh, I am whirled by the Furies on burning winds!
And now prophetic Apollo, now the Lycian oracles,
Now the gods' herald, sent by Jupiter himself,
Has come down through the rushing winds
With dread commands!"

(*Aen.* 4.368–78; Lombardo 4.423–37)

One can debate whether she is talking to herself here or others.⁹⁰ The

neuming of these lines in the Munich manuscript turns them into a lament set to music, expressing her feelings, while the marginal gloss here creates a specific scenario: the queen's humiliating confrontation with her lover is taking place in public, in a group setting, as in the depiction of Dido with Aeneas to the left of her suicide in [Frontispiece 1.91](#) This marginal gloss both specifies and emphasizes her sharing of Aeneas's cruelty with those around her while also serving as a stage direction, reminding us that reading in medieval schools was a shared group experience, which can shift the focus and orientation of a passage. The interlinear glosses on the part of the passage where she recalls what she has done for him (here translated literally) are particularly forceful and painful in this manuscript, with its emphasis on relationships; the glosses reinforce the connection between the two of them that Aeneas did his best to sever in his response to her.

... the one shipwrecked on my shore {**namely Aeneas**}, destitute {**namely Aeneas himself** },
 I {**I Dido**} took in {**that is, received**} and insanely {**I Dido**} placed {**namely Aeneas himself** } in part of {**my**} kingdom.
 {**And**} I {**namely I, Dido**}, recovered the fleet and rescued the men {**namely of Aeneas**} from death.⁹²

Such fanatically close attention to text and gloss can seem mind-numbing when we look at a whole manuscript.⁹³ But this modern reaction is, I believe, historically incorrect. While the attention to minute verbal detail in premodern teaching methods has been roundly criticized, it is important for us to experience how such close, even myopic attention to individual words and phrases (which we will see even more in the following chapter) further imprints parts of a text in the hearts as well as minds of students. The special emphasis in the glosses in individual manuscripts creates a sustained, enduring effect.

This chapter began with Augustine's boyhood obsession with Virgil's *Aeneid*, and here at the end let us return to Augustine, when he himself returns to the *Aeneid* as an adult during the intense transitional period following his conversion. At Cassiciacum, a country house outside Milan, he wrote his early Christian dialogues in the company of a few pupils and friends (and his mother), a group that Gerald Bonner describes as less like a "poetry-reading society" and "far more like a university tutorial."⁹⁴ One of the participants, Licentius, a young poet who was both a student of Augustine and the son of his friend and sometime patron Romanianus, called it a "'golden age' of leisure and study."⁹⁵ It was at this point that Augustine returned to the *Aeneid*, submitting it, according to Licentius, to "the arduous labour of reading for the inner sense divulged in books and discovered through his ingenuity."⁹⁶ During the period

when they were reading Books 2, 3, and 4 (coincidentally containing Augustine's favorite schoolboy passages),⁹⁷ Augustine says of Licentius that he "was so inflamed with a passion for poetry that it seemed to me he should be restrained a bit."⁹⁸ We are reminded that allegorical interpretation of the *Aeneid*, if that was what Augustine was engaged in, was the proper occupation for adults.

Yet while the adult Augustine was able to use Virgil's poetry as a distraction and respite, young Augustine's feelings for Dido had been so strong that they put into shadow all other emotions at the time. In contrast, young Achilles, who begins and ends the next chapter, never feels like a woman or, when still a boy, weeps for one—but he does, at least for a time, act like one.

¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. F. J. Sheed, revised edition (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006), 1.13. 20 and 21, slightly emended; "tenere cogebar Aeneae nescio cuius errores, ... et plorare Didonem mortuam, quia se occidit ab amore, [F]lebam Didonem extinctam ferroque extrema secutam"; the Latin text is quoted from the edition by James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). Carolyn J.-B. Hammond notes Augustine's echo of Aeneas's words to Dido when he sees her shade in the Underworld: "Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.457. As A. cites it, it is a complete hexameter line, heavily spondaic and so underlining the sense of gloom. His sufferings parallel Dido's." Hammond, ed. and trans., *Confessions*, by Augustine (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 1.38n64.

² Serge Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, trans. Antonia Nevill (London: SCM Press, 2002), p. 18.

³ E.g., Karl Herman Schelke, *Virgil in der Deutung Augustins* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1939); and Sabine MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); see also Harald Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* (Gothenburg: Universitet, 1967).

⁴ Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, rev. ed. 2000), p. 24. Varro can also be added to this list according to Domenico Romano, "Licenzio poeta: sulla posizione di Agostino verso la poesia," *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 11 (1961): 3–22, here 16.

⁵ Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, p. 24.

⁶ Augustine, *De natura et origine animae*, CSEL 60, IV, vii. 9; translated in *Saint Augustin: Anti-Pelagian Writings*, "On the Soul and Its Origin" (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), p. 358.

⁷ Very few medieval manuscripts of Augustine's *Confessions* that I have seen are annotated in Book 1 where he talks about his schooling, presumably because the text usually is copied with theological works, and the later books appear to have been of greater interest in that context.

⁸ "et si prohiberer ea legere, dolerem, quia non legerem quod dolerem" (*Conf.* 1.13.21).

⁹ "Quid enim miserius misero non miserante se ipsum et flente Didonis mortem, quae fiebat amando Aenean, non flente autem mortem suam, quae fiebat non amando te, deus" (*Conf.* 1.13.21).

¹⁰ Cf. Thomas Hahn, "Across thirty generations of medieval study, schoolboys seemed regularly to cathect on the African Queen, and ultimately to invent for her an autonomous life outside the classroom" ("Don't Cry for Me, Augustinus: Dido and

the Dangers of Empathy” in *Truth and Tales: Cultural Mobility and Medieval Media*, edited by Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson, 41–59, here 46. [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015]). Hahn goes on to talk about the reworkings of classical Didos in English vernacular works up to the early seventeenth century.

¹¹ {**Adpulsa ad libiam**} (BL Add. 21910, fol. 6r). As was stated in the “**Short Introduction**,” manuscript orthography, capitalization, and punctuation are retained in the notes, with abbreviations expanded silently; for more on the formatting of the glosses, see “Abbreviations, Sigla, and Rhetorical Terms.” On this twelfth-century German manuscript, see Birger Munk Olsen, *L’Étude des auteurs classiques latins au XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982–89), 2.729; and the forthcoming entry on Virgil (11th–12th century) by Filippo Bognini for the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum (CTC)*, ed. Greti Dinkova-Bruun (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies).

¹² E.g., Clm 261, fol. 80r; Clm 391, fol. 84r; Rome, Biblioteca della Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana 43 G 22 (Rossi 375), fol. 30v.

¹³ This exchange is highlighted in some manuscripts of the text; e.g., Clm 391, fols. 83r–84r; ÖNB Cod. 3104, fols. 47v–48r.

¹⁴ Stanley Lombardo’s translation of the *Aeneid* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2005) is used throughout unless a more literal version is necessary to understand glosses; when not quoted directly from manuscripts, Latin text is from Virgil, *Opera*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969).

¹⁵ {**uel quasi similis deo moribus**} (Rome, Biblioteca della Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana MS 43 G 22 [Rossi 375], fol. 34v). On this manuscript see Armando Petrucci, *Catalogo sommario dei manoscritti del Fondo Rossi, Sezione Corsiniana* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1977), p. 179.

¹⁶ On this example of *captatio benevolentiae* or the capturing of goodwill, see also Marjorie Curry Woods, “Rhetoric, Gender, and the Literary Arts: Classical Speeches in the Schoolroom,” *New Medieval Literatures*, Special Issue on Medieval Grammar and the Literary Arts, ed. Chris Cannon, Rita Copeland, and Nicolette Zeeman, 11 (2009): 113–32, here 124. For other examples, see Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 255 and 310–11; and Marjorie Curry Woods, *Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the Poetria nova across Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Columbus: Ohio State Press, 2010), pp. 10, 53, 56, 199, 201, 202, 205, 206, and 221.

¹⁷ {**Verba Didonis ad eneam captando beniuolenciam**} {... **tenetur admiracione**} (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 685, fol. 18r); on this manuscript see *Catalogo dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense*, vol. 6 [Ms. 501–Ms. 700], (Rome: Libreria del Stato, 1978), p. 192.

¹⁸ {**capit beneuolentiam**} (Clm 261, fol. 84v); on this manuscript see Karl Halm et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (Munich: Sumptibus Bibliothecae Regiae, 1892), Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 66.

¹⁹ {**admirantis non interrogantis**} (BL Add. 21910, fol. 9r); {**non interrogantis sed ammirantis**} (Clm 261, fol. 84v); and {**talis admirantis enim non est interrogantis ...**} (Clm 21562, fol. 87r). On this last manuscript, see Halm, *Catalogus codicum latinorum*, Vol. 4, Pt. 4 (1881), pp. 6–7.

²⁰ {**hoc autem dido ... ex teuchri narratione cognouit**} (Clm 21562, fol. 87r).

²¹ For glosses contrasting the rhetorical structures of Dido’s and Venus’s speeches in two Italian manuscripts, see Woods, “Rhetoric, Gender,” pp. 123–27.

²² {**Hic effectum ponit amoris et quid fecerit ipsa dido inducta amore enee scilicet a cupidine misso**} (Clm 261, fol. 86v).

²³ {**in fine pathos habebat ubi abscessus enee gignit dolorem**} (Clm 21562,

fol. 115r).

²⁴ {Iste liber quartus ... continet affectiones et amores didonis quamuis In fine habeat patos et passionem nam ibi narrat qualiter dido se interfecit. Vnde sententia generalis huius libri est de amore dydonis et qualiter se interfecit ...} (BL Add. 17404, fol. 79v). On this manuscript see Harald Anderson, *The Manuscripts of Statius*, rev. ed. (Arlington, VA: printed by author, 2009), 1.189–90; and *List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1848–1853* (London, 1868), p. 13.

²⁵ {Oratio Insinuatua. pulcrum exordium insinuationem} (BL Add. 17404, fol. 79v). For Shakespeare's use of Insinuation, see "The Insinuating Beginning" in Quentin Skinner, *Forensic Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 104–42. On "exordium" and "insinuatio" see "Abbreviations, Sigla, and Rhetorical Terms."

²⁶ See Ruth Taylor-Briggs, "Reading Between the Lines: The Textual History and Manuscript Transmission of Cicero's Rhetorical Works," in Virginia Cox and John O. Ward, eds., *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 77–108.

²⁷ On another scandal requiring "insinuatio," see Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, p. 38; also Marjorie Curry Woods, ed. and trans., *An Early Commentary on the Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (New York: Garland, 1985), accessus 32–33.

²⁸ {Responsio anne sororis ad didonem ut non pugnet amori ymo persequeretur} (BL Add. 17404, fol. 80r).

²⁹ {eneas carnaliter eam cognouit et fama huius rei diuulgata est} (BL Add. 17404, fol. 79v).

³⁰ {dictis bonissimis verbis se ipsam gladio Interfecit} (BL Add. 17404, fol. 79v). Aeneas's final glimpse of Dido is among the dead in the underworld in Book 6, where she is accompanied by the shade of her (first) husband. Realizing that Dido killed herself when he left, Aeneas calls and reaches out to her, saying words she would have wanted to hear earlier; she turns away coldly without speaking (*Aen.* 6.450–76; Lombardo 6.542–71).

³¹ Clm 4660, fol. 77v. Dido's confrontation with Aeneas upon hearing that he will leave is depicted to the left in the top half of the illustration, with scenes from Aeneas's departure in the bottom half. For a description of this manuscript see Günter Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern: Clm 4501–4663* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), pp. 300–04; also Christopher de Hamel, "The Carmina Burana," in *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts: Twelve Journeys into the Medieval World* (New York: Penguin Press, 2017), pp. 330–75 and 594–95, here 357. The manuscript is reproduced on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, where you can see the illustration in more detail. The home page for the library can be found at <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/en/>.

³² "equus ligneus plenus armatis et Troiae incendium atque ipsius umbra Creusae" (*Conf.*, 1.13.22).

³³ Cf. Abraham Cowley's summary of what he liked in his mother's copy of Edmund Spenser's works: "I ... was infinitely delighted with the stories of the Knights, and Giants, and Monsters, and brave Houses, which I found every where there" (Cowley, "of Myself," in *Works*, p. 144, cited in Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005], p. 209).

³⁴ "Infelix {propter mortem} simulacrum {figura} {est uisum michi} atque

ipsius umbra **{anima}** creuse **{uxoris mee}** (*Aen.* 2.772 in BL Add. 17404, fol. 66v).

³⁵ Quid tantum insano iuuat indulgere **{te}** **{idest intendere}** labori,
O **{o Enea}** dulcis coniunx nec hec **{scilicet de me}** **{et aliis}** sine numine
dium **{idest deorum}**

Eueniunt; nec te comitem **{***}** hinc [^]as[^]portare creusam **{scilicet me,**
vxorem tuam}

Fas **{est}** [^]h[^]aud **{pro non}** ille sinit regnator **{scilicet Iuppiter}** olimpi
{scilicet te portare me Creusam hinc}

Longa tibi **{scilicet Enee}** exilia, uastum maris equor arandum **{scilicet**
sulcis nauium}

Ad terram hesperiam **{yalicam}** uenies....

Illic **{scilicet in Italia}** res lete **{tibi}** regnumque et regia coniunx **{scilicet**
Lauinia filia Regis latini}

Parta **{scilicet erunt}** tibi. lacrimas dilecte **{o Enea}** pelle creuse **{scilicet**
vxoris olim tue}....

Sed me **{scilicet creusam}** magna deum genitrix **{Ceres uel Cibeles}** his
detinet horis **{idest in partibus istis}**.

Iamque uale **{o Enea}** et nati **{idest Iulus}** serua communis **{scilicet tibi**
et mihi} amorem.

(*Aen.* 2.776–89 in SBB Ham. 678, fol. 20v)

On this manuscript see Helmut Boese, *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), p. 326. Another folio of this manuscript is reproduced in [Image 1.4](#).

³⁶ **{Ex xi odyssees ubi matrem amplecti uolentem inducit}** (Rome, Biblioteca della Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana 43 E 9 [Rossi 121], fol. 58v). These late glosses consist almost entirely of references to the *Odyssey*. On this manuscript see Petrucci, *Catalogo sommario dei manoscritti*, p. 56.

³⁷ Hec ubi dicta **{scilicet Creusa}** dedit, lacrimantem **{me Eneam}** que multa uolentem

Dicere, deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.

Ter conatus **{ego fui}** ibi collo **{scilicet Creuse}** dare brachia circum.

Ter frustra **{idest ad pectus rei}** comprehensa manus **{*** quia non**
capt <a> bat [capte bat MS] nisi aerem} effugit imago **{scilicet**
Creuse}.

Par **{idest similis}** leuibus uentis, uoluerique simillima sompno.

(*Aen.* 2.790–94, in SBB Ham. 678, fol. 20v)

³⁸ Unfortunately, a long gloss next to Aeneas's reaction in this manuscript is too faded to read.

³⁹ **{Verba creuse uxor enee Ad eneam, que tamen iam decesserat}** (BL Harley 2744, fol. 61r). On BL Harley 2744, see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.207; also *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1808–12), 2.710.

⁴⁰ Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), Fig. 2.

⁴¹ Some of those adding glosses to the *Aeneid* appear to be most concerned with providing historical and mythical background (one reason for the abundant commentary on Book 6 in many manuscripts). For more on historical and mythological (as well as rhetorical and emotional) glosses in manuscripts of

classroom texts, see Marjorie Curry Woods, “Experiencing the Classics in Medieval Education,” in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: Vol. 1 (800–1558)*, ed. Rita Copeland (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2016), pp. 35–51.

⁴² On medieval recognition of the connection between memory and emotion, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 117); and Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds., *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 8–9.

⁴³ On the (relatively rare) use of the vernacular in teaching Latin, see Nikolaus Henkel, *Deutsche Übersetzungen lateinischer Schultexte: Ihre Verbreitung und Funktion im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Artemis, 1988); Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in 13th-Century England*, 3 vols. (Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1991); Dorothea Klein, “Zur Praxis des Lateinunterrichts: ‘Versus memoriales’ in lateinisch-deutschen Vokabularen des späten Mittelalters,” in *Latein und Volkssprache im deutschen Mittelalter 1100–1500*, ed. Nikolaus Henkel and Nigel F. Palmer (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992), pp. 337–50; Ulrike Bodemann, “Latein und Volkssprache im Bereich von Schule und Trivialunterricht. Zur Arbeit an spätmittelalterlichen Schulgrammatiken,” *ibid.*, pp. 351–59; and Christopher Cannon, *From Literacy to Literature: England, 1300–1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), especially [Chapter 1](#), “The Language of Learning,” pp. 17–40.

⁴⁴ James L. McGaugh, *Memory and Emotion: The Making of Lasting Memories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 94.

⁴⁵ Michelle Leichtman, Steven Ceci, and Peter Ornstein, “The Influence of Affect on Memory: Mechanism and Development,” in *The Handbook of Emotion and Memory: Research and Theory*, ed. Sven-Åke Christianson (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum Associates, 1991), pp. 181–99, here 189.

⁴⁶ McGaugh, *Memory and Emotion*, 92, drawing on L. J. Kleinsmith and S. Kaplan, “Paired-Associate Learning as a Function of Arousal and Interpolated Interval,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 65 (1963): 190–93.

⁴⁷ The emotional passages in the *Aeneid*, and especially the fate of Dido, have always had a particular attraction for students. This fascination continues today: when I offered a course for English honors students at the University of Texas on “Women in Love: Sappho, Dido, Heloise,” a third of the class said that they had signed up for it because of having translated Dido’s speeches in high school Latin classes.

⁴⁸ L. Cahill and J. L. McGaugh, “A Novel Demonstration of Enhanced Memory Associated with Emotional Arousal,” *Consciousness and Cognition* 4 (1995): 410–21.

⁴⁹ McGaugh, *Memory and Emotion*, p. 92.

⁵⁰ McGaugh, *Memory and Emotion*, pp. 115–16.

⁵¹ For a later perspective on Dido’s emotional resonance, see Andrew Wallace, “‘What’s Hecuba to Him?’: Pain, Privacy, and the Ancient Text,” in *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, eds. Donald Beecher and Grant Williams (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), pp. 231–43.

⁵² On BL Burney 273, see Munk Olsen, *L’Étude des auteurs classiques*, 2.730; Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Appendix II, p. 310; and Bognini, *CTC*, forthcoming.

⁵³ Cf. a fifteenth-century note at the beginning of Book 4 in Rome, Biblioteca della Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana 43 E 9 (Rossi 121), which summarizes the books up to and including Book 4 as follows: {in **primo tractatum de auguriis in secundo de afflictione in tercio de errora** [sic] in **<quarto> tractat de**

{In primo libro continetur
miseratio didonis. In
ii mors creuse. In
iii mors anchise.
In iiii didonis. In
v pallinuri In
vi marcelli}

(BL Burney 273, fol. 27r)

⁵⁵ In form and some of its content this mnemonic resembles one for remembering the wives of Henry VIII: “Divorced, beheaded, died; / Divorced, beheaded, survived.” Cf. what Anthony Grafton calls a “summary of Monty Pythonish literalness” by “One Erythraeus (Rossi)” in the margin of Book 21 of his copy of the 1488 *Iliad* (*Commerce with the Classics*, p. 172, citing Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Inc. 2.17):

{Mars is laid out by Minerva.
Pallas is victorious over Mars.
Pallas taunts Mars.
Venus leads Mars away after Minerva lays him out.}
{Mars prosternitur a Minerva
Pallas Martem vincit
Pallas Marti insultat
Venus manu ducit Martem a Minerva prostratum.}

See also the summaries of the (medieval) books of the *Achilleid* in [Chapter 2](#).

⁵⁶ When I described this gloss right after I found it several years ago, someone objected, “Virgil would not have agreed with this description!” The listener was probably thinking of the emphasis on Aeneas as the founder of Rome and the future glory of the empire, as well as, of course, the whole second half of the *Aeneid*. Yet the first half of the *Aeneid* occupies a special place in classroom practice (and it may be only the first half to which Augustine refers when he says that he was forced to memorize the wanderings of Aeneas, although he quotes from all books of the *Aeneid* in his works).

⁵⁷ Cf. Augustine’s use of cognates of *miseratio* in his own reaction to Dido’s pain in Book 4 of the *Aeneid* earlier in this chapter.

⁵⁸ Legend has it that Octavia fainted at this part when Virgil recited it before her: Virgil “recited three whole books for Augustus: the second, fourth, and sixth—this last out of his well-known affection for Octavia, who (being present at the recitation) is said to have fainted at the lines about her son, ... ‘You shall be Marcellus’ [Aen. 6.884].” Aelius Donatus, *Life of Virgil*, trans. David Scott Wilson-Okamura (1996, rev. 2014), 32, www.virgil.org/vitae/a-donatus.htm.

⁵⁹ It comes at the words “conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit” (“He stopped now, and rested”) (Aen. 3.718; Lombardo 3.828).

⁶⁰ {nam singulis res singulas dedit, ut primo omina, secundo pathos, tertio errores, quarto ethos, quinto festivitatem, sexto scientiam. epilogos autem sic variavit, ut in primo miseratio esset Didonis, in secundo mors Creusae, in tertio Anchisae, in quarto Didonis, in quinto Palinuri: in sexto Marcelli citum deflet interitum} (Serv. In Aen. 3.718; *Servii grammatici in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo and Herman Hagen [Leipzig: Teubner, 1922], Vol. 3,

p. 245.130–246.5). I am grateful to Justin Haynes for bringing the Servian source to my attention and to Christopher McDonough and Karin Margareta Fredborg for help with this passage.

⁶¹ In the manuscript with drawings discussed above, BL Harley 2744, a sketch of Dido drinking from a goblet is attached to these lines on fol. 50r.

⁶² The well-known analysis of the first six books of the *Aeneid* in *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Virgil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, e.g., Book 1 as infancy, Book 2 as childhood, etc., supports a focus on the first six books as a kind of progression reflecting interior experience and in that way differing from the second half (eds. Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977]); *Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's Aeneid*, trans. Earl G. Schreiber and Thomas E. Maresca (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). This is an interpretive approach that the text still inspires: see “Why the *Aeneid* is like Abbey Road,” <https://web.archive.org/web/20160819044755/http://sites.davidson.edu/csa/why-the-aeneid-is-like-abbey-road/>. I am grateful to Tony Cartlidge for this reference.

⁶³ On the identification of adolescent males with female adolescent characters in films, see Carol J. Clover's classic study, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); also Marjorie Curry Woods, “Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric of Sexual Violence,” in *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copeland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 56–86.

⁶⁴ Suzanne Keen, *Empathy and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 176n30.

⁶⁵ Augustine describes his favorite parts of the text, including Creusa, as “dulcissimum spectaculum vanitatis” (*Conf.* 1.13); see Hammond, ed. *Confessions*, on “vanitas,” p. xix.

⁶⁶ Keen, *Empathy*, Appendix, p. 169.

⁶⁷ Keen, *Empathy*, Appendix, p. 169.

⁶⁸ E.g., Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2007), especially Chapter 1, “‘Torrents of Emotion’: Reading Novels and Imagining Equality.” Suzanne Keen summarizes this approach from a different point of view: “The commentary on narrative form often asserts (or assumes) that a specific technique inevitably results in particular effects—political, ethical, emotional—in readers” (*Empathy and the Novel*, pp. 98–99).

⁶⁹ But see Elaine Scarry, “Poetry, Injury, and the Ethics of Reading,” in *The Humanities and Public Life*, ed. Peter Brooks with Hilary Jewett (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), pp. 41–48, and my interchange with her, “Discussion Session I: The Ethics of Reading,” pp. 66–71, here 67.

⁷⁰ Keen, *Empathy and the Novel*, passim; see also Suzanne Keen, “A Theory of Narrative Empathy,” *Narrative* 14:3 (2006): 207–236, and the excellent bibliography in both.

⁷¹ C. David Benson and Barry A. Windeatt, “The Manuscript Glosses to Chaucer’s ‘Troilus and Criseyde,’” *The Chaucer Review*, 25.1 (1990): 33–53.

⁷² Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. 161. See also Richard Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, trans. Hazel Harvey, David Harvey, and Fred Robertson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993; published in German, 1903), esp. “Emotions,” pp. 231–235, e.g., “mental anguish” described as “the most common emotion,” and the statement that “The speeches ... in Virgil are largely devoted to the expression of emotion” (234).

⁷³ On Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F. 2. 6 see Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, 2.749; and Bognini, *CTC*, forthcoming.

⁷⁴ The discussion of neuming that follows draws heavily on Ziolkowski, *Nota bene*. An abbreviation of this study can be found in Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds., *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 167–78.

⁷⁵ Not all neumatation in manuscripts of classical texts is on emotional or metrically difficult passages; for example, a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript copied in southern France and now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF lat. 3088-XI, contains neumes on the first three lines of the *Aeneid* (Ziolkowski, *Nota bene*, p. 272); compare Ziolkowski's Appendix I, "Inventory of Neumed Classical Texts," pp. 247–77, with Appendix II, "Speeches in Classical Passages with Neumatation," pp. 281–87. There is a neumed short poem of Ausonius in the Tegersee Miscellany in Austin, Harry Ransom Center MS 29, fol. 31v. The poem is entitled "De signis caelestibus" ("On the Heavenly Signs") in the "Appendix to Ausonius," trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White, in *Ausonius*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921; rpt. 1985), pp. 280–82. This manuscript is digitized online: http://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/mnemGal/29/HRC_29.pdf. On this manuscript see Michael R. Dunn and Carl A. Huffman, "The Cheltenham MS of Calcidius' Translation of the *Timaeus*," *Manuscripta* 24 (1980): 76–88. I am grateful to Luisa Nardini for alerting me to this neumed poem and for help with neumes here and in the third chapter.

⁷⁶ Ziolkowski remarks, "Without the lines that are a standard characteristic of modern notation, it is possible to guess at the movements of the melody upward and downward, but not to discern the exact intervals of the notes or to know relative to what starting point the movements take place" (*Nota bene*, p. 24). Susan Rankin (email of Oct. 18, 2014) and Luisa Nardini (conversation on May 3, 2017) have confirmed that we do not actually know what unheightened neumed passages sounded like when sung. For details of what we do know, see Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Music," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 274–316.

⁷⁷ On Clm 18059 see Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques*, 2.740–2; and Bognini, *CTC*, forthcoming. The manuscript is digitized on the website for the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/en/>.

⁷⁸ {Notandum} {idest si preces ualent mihi remoue te ab isto proposito scilicet uelle recedere.} {Notandum} {Notandum} (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 685, fol. 59r).

⁷⁹ {nichil aliud possum dicere de te nisi quod fuisti hospes quia recedis ita cito ex [quo] nomine mariti ...} (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 685, fol. 59v).

⁸⁰ Notice how often the glossator adds {oro / I beg}. Virgil has her beg Aeneas only once, in the sixth line at the end of the very long sentence; Lombardo adds it in the second line of his translation; but the glossator adds it three times in these first three lines, emphasizing her desperation.

⁸¹ See the next footnote for an additional gloss that I could not work into the translation.

⁸² Here I quote the Latin in the spelling and with the variants in the manuscript:

Mene {scilicet didonem}{idest an} fugis? {scilicet oro} per ego has
lacrimas dextramque tua <m> te {scilicet eneam}
Quando aliud mihi iam misere {scilicet didoni} nichil ipsa reliqui,
Per conubia nostra {scilicet oro te eneam}, per inceptos hymenaeos

{idest deus nupciarum} {scilicet oro te eneam} ...

(*Aen.* 4.314–16, SBB Ham. 678, fol. 34r)

⁸³ See also Woods, “Rhetoric, Gender,” pp. 128–31.

⁸⁴ The glossator thinks both heads are of the two gods, not Aeneas’s and Dido’s.

⁸⁵ Me **{eneam} {scilicet terret}** puer ascanius capitis[^]que **{filii mei}** iniuria cari **{scilicet terret me eneam}**,

Quem **{scilicet aschanium}** regno hesperie **{idest ytalie et non eundo}**
fraudo **{scilicet stando hic}** et fatalibus aruis **{idest ab aruis ytalicis}**
fatatis eidem ascanio filio meo}.

Nunc etiam interpres diuum **{scilicet mercurius}**, ioue missus ab ipso

Testor utrumque caput **{scilicet iouis et mercurii}**, celeris mandata
{scilicet quod debeam hinc discedere} per auras

Detulit **{scilicet mihi enee}**; ipse **{ego eneas}** deum **{scilicet mercurium}** manifesto in lumine uidi

Intrantem muros **{scilicet domus}** uocemque **{scilicet illius mercurii}** his
auribus **{meis}** hausi **{idest audiui}**.

Desine **{o dido}** meque **{eneam}** tuis incendere teque **{didonem}** querelis.

(*Aen.* 4.354–60; Lombardo 4.406–14; SBB Ham. 678, fol. 34v)

⁸⁶ **{Nunc etc. nunc interpres diuum missus mihi ab ipso ioue/ detulit mihi per celeres auras mandata ipsius iouis/ Et ego testor utrumque caput scilicet Mercurii et iouis}** (SBB Ham. 678, fol. 34v).

⁸⁷ **{Loquitur auctor}** (SBB Ham. 678, fol. 34v). On similar glosses, see Ziolkowski, *Nota bene*, p. 164. These first lines recall and contradict the praise in her sensitive and eloquent speech of welcome to Aeneas in the first book, which began by recognizing his parentage (*Aen.* 1.615–18; Lombardo 1.755–57).

⁸⁸ “Nec te diua **{scilicet uenus fuit tibi}** parens generis nec dardanus **{scilicet Anchises fuit}** auctor **{idest non fuisti filius Veneris nec Anchise}** / Perfide **{o enea}**. ...” (*Aen.* 4.365–66 in SBB Ham. 678, fol. 34v; based on Lombardo 4.419–20). Lombardo translates “perfide” as “faithless bastard,” a more memorable phrase.

⁸⁹ **{Dido loquitur non ad eneam sed ad auditores de crudelitate ipsius Enee}** (SBB Ham. 678, fol. 34v).

⁹⁰ Gilbert Highet on this shift: “After this double-edged insult Dido turns away from Aeneas and speaks of him as though he were absent—or as though he were an accused man being denounced to a listening audience,” *The Speeches in Vergil’s Aeneid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 149–50.

⁹¹ For a much later depiction of the public nature of Dido’s pain, see the painting of *La Morte di Didone* by Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, 1591–1666) in the Palazzo Spada in Rome.

⁹² ... eiectum **{scilicet Eneam}** litore egentem **{idest ipsum eneam}**

Excepi **{idest recepi ego dido}** et regni **{mei}** demens **{ego dido}** in parte
locaui **{scilicet ipsum eneam}**.

{Et} Amissam classem socios **{scilicet Enee}** a morte reduxi **{scilicet ego dido}**.

(*Aen.* 4.373–75 in SBB, Ham. 678, fol. 34v, based on Lombardo 4.429–32)

⁹³ E.g., the continuous interlinear glosses in Hartmann Schedel’s manuscript of the *Aeneid* (on the text but not on the non-Virgilian prologues) in Clm 261.

⁹⁴ Gerald Bonner, *St. Augustine of Hippo: Life and Controversies* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1963; 3rd ed. 2002), p. 94. For depictions of this educational scene in two manuscripts, see Laura Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe, c. 1100–1220* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016),

pp. 98–100.

⁹⁵ Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 131 and 356n99, drawing on Licentius, in Augustine, *Epistolae*, CSEL 34/1, 26.52–55. Licentius's short verse memoir of this time evokes nostalgia for a sublime text read with a revered teacher, often one of the strongest of school memories; see especially lines 52–57 and the note on these lines in the edition by Maximilian Zelzner, *De carmine Licentii ad Augustinum* (Arnsberg: J. Stahl, 1915), pp. 4 and 38–39. For the cult of the teacher in twelfth-century schools where classical texts were read, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

⁹⁶ Stock, *Augustine the Reader*, pp. 131 and 356n102, citing Licentius, *Ep.* 26.108–09.

⁹⁷ They are reading the books of the *Aeneid* in order; earlier Book 1 (*Contra Academicos* 1.5.15), and here “tres tamen Vergilii libros post primum” (*Contra Academicos* 2.4.10; ed. Therese Fuhrer [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017]), rather than Books 2 and 4 as in Stock, *Augustine the Reader*, p. 132.

⁹⁸ Augustine, *Against the Academicians. The Teacher*, trans. Peter King (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1995), 2.4.10. Romano characterizes Augustine's response to Licentius's enthusiasm as “un po' fredda” (“Licenzio Poeta sulla posizione,” p. 18), and Stock describes Augustine's interest in Virgil at this time as “tepid” (*Augustine the Reader*, p. 95).

CHAPTER 2

Troy Books for Boys

Glosses on the *Achilleid* and *Ilias latina*

A boy wakes up, disoriented, in a place he has never seen. His mother has spirited him away from his teacher and all he knows:

[T]he boy's sleep was disturbed, and his opening eyes
felt daylight pouring in. He was stunned by what he saw.
What place is this, what waves, where is Pelion?
Everything he sees is changed and unfamiliar,
And he isn't sure he recognizes his mother.

(*Ach.* 1.247–50; Lombardo 1.279–83¹)

This is Achilles and the text is the *Achilleid* of Statius. It tells a version of his life before the *Iliad* in which his mother, Thetis, abducts him in an attempt to keep him from the Trojan War fated to cause his death. Her plan is for him to put on women's clothes and act like a girl, secluded with others of "his" sex on the island of Scyros (a.k.a. Skyros) for the duration of the war. This cross-dressing is the part of the *Achilleid* on which scholars focus today, as in P. J. Heslin's excellent *Transvestite Achilles*, and I count myself among those who used to skim the scene above to get to the delicious gender-bending material later.

The most haunting medieval echo of the *Achilleid*, however, may be Dante's evocation of the disoriented boy in Canto 9 of the *Purgatorio*. Awaking after his terrible dream of the eagle and fire, Dante says,

In just the same way as Achilles was startled
when he turned his awakened eyes around
without any idea of where he was,
When his mother carried him, asleep in her arms,
from Chiron to the island of Scyros,
from where the Greeks would later take him off,
So too was I startled, as soon as sleep
fled from my face, and I grew pale as death

Dante probably encountered the *Achilleid* when he, too, was a boy, for it was widely taught in medieval schools.³ The glosses on it are more basic than those on the *Aeneid* discussed in the preceding chapter. The *Achilleid* was usually taught at a more elementary level than the *Aeneid*, but Statius assumes knowledge of the *Aeneid* and employs many sly circumlocutions and indirect references. Dante's experience of the text would have included constant interlinear glosses focusing first on clarification, on identifying characters and filling in grammatical constructions, but also in some manuscripts on emphasizing the emotional trauma experienced by Achilles.

Statius calls Achilles a *puer* (boy) here and his mother addresses him that way a few lines later, emphasizing his vulnerability in this scene—in contrast to the confident young hunter he had appeared as earlier in the text with his centaur tutor, Chiron. Medieval commentators on this later passage focus first on identifying him after the shift of focus from Thetis's magical journey bringing him to a new land: “the boy's {**Achilles's**} sleep was disturbed, and his {**Achilles's**} opening eyes / felt daylight pouring in. He {**Achilles**} was stunned.”⁴ Usually, however, this kind of gloss is combined with ones providing synonyms and filling in grammatical constructions, as in “the boy's {**Achilles's**} sleep {**was**} disturbed, and his {**Achilles's**} opening eyes / felt daylight pouring in {**dispersedly**}. He was stunned {**bewildered**}.”⁵ In another manuscript “disturbed” is glossed with a less common word meaning {**is awakened from sleep**}, reminding us that one of the purposes of glosses is to increase student vocabulary.⁶ Dante's description focuses on Achilles's fear and vulnerability, and in two school manuscripts “disturbed” is glossed {**was seized by terror**},⁷ while in a third, the daylight “pouring in” is a source {**of terror, not safety**}.⁸

Dante's recalling of the young, fearful Achilles reminds us that specific scenes and emotions, rather than larger structures and abstract lessons or interpretations, often become the most dominant memories of texts read while we are young. The clinical research on memory, emotion, and empathy cited in the first chapter with regard to the suicide of Dido suggests that the passage quoted from Dante's *Purgatorio* could reflect a schoolboy's memory of identifying with a great figure in a moment of childhood transition and vulnerability. While during any period and in any form school is a haven for some students and a kind of hell for others, it is always a time of at least temporary disorientation.

Indeed, abandonment by mothers or other caretakers as often as by

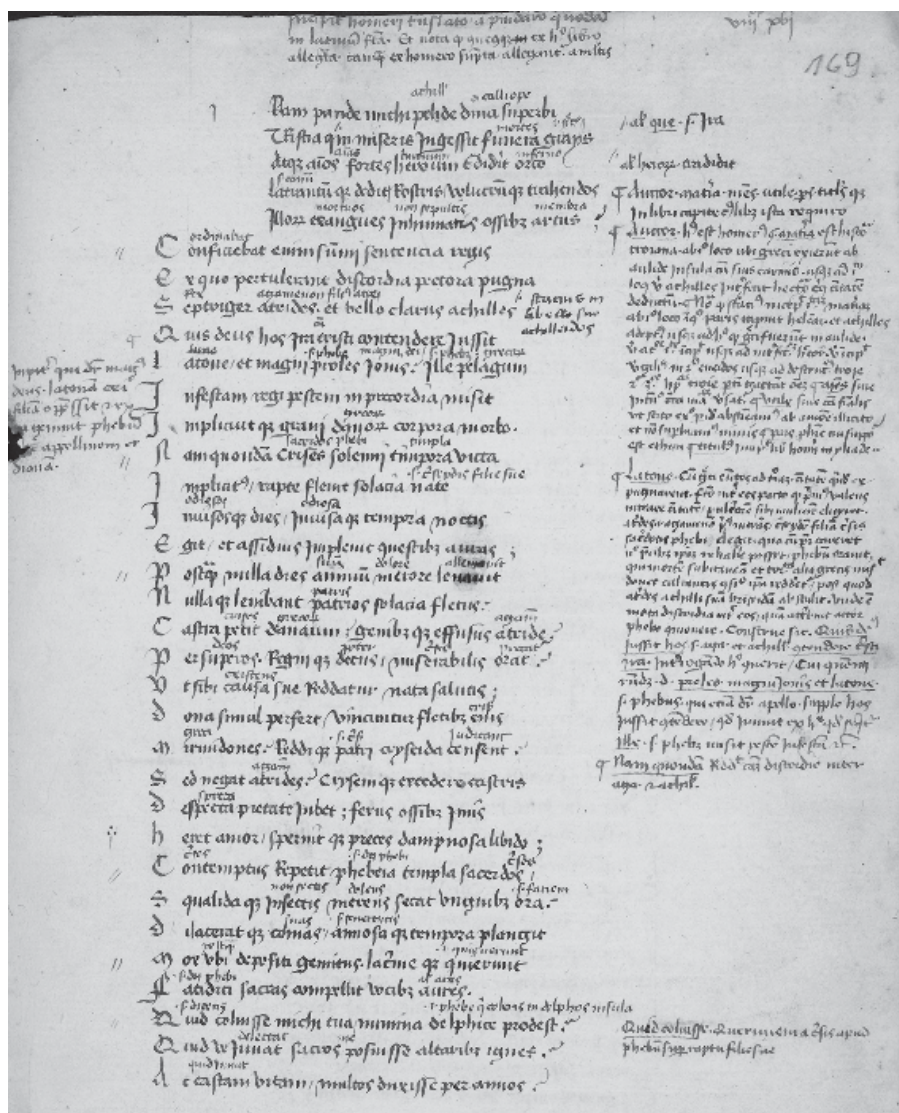
husbands or lovers is a recurring narrative element in the classical texts read in medieval schools. If it is true that only a few shared markers may be needed for empathic connections with fictional characters, then medieval students could identify with the helplessness of the boy superhero in the *Achilleid* as well as or even better than with the abandoned adult women in the *Aeneid* discussed in [Chapter 1](#). In this chapter the figures with whom students might identify are (with one exception) male. Achilles, however, will pretend to be a girl for the major part of the text named for him, and, as we shall see, the *Achilleid* may have reassured male students that temporary identification with and performance of female emotions and actions could be just that: temporary.

Perhaps I am alone—although I suspect not—in remembering in great detail from my childhood odd parts of school texts that are unappreciated in modern literary scholarship. It is hard to think of classical texts read widely in medieval schools that are today more underappreciated by scholars than the *Achilleid* of Statius and, to an even greater degree, our second text in this chapter, the *Ilias latina*, a Latin abbreviation of the entire *Iliad* in about the same number of lines as one of the longer books of the Greek original. The *Achilleid*, probably written ca. 95–96 CE, survives in 220 manuscripts down to the sixteenth century, according to Harald Anderson’s exhaustive catalogue.⁹ It is thought that the *Ilias latina* was written during the reign of Nero (54–68 CE) by a certain Baebius Italicus, whose name was deciphered during the nineteenth century from initial-letter acrostics.¹⁰ According to Marco Scaffai, the *Ilias latina* or *Homerus latinus* (Latin Homer) survives in at least 140 manuscripts.¹¹ During the Middle Ages its author was referred to as Homer and its translator sometimes identified as Pindar or Pindar of Thebes.¹²

Both works are comparatively short verse narratives in hexameter; 1,070 lines for the *Ilias latina*; 1,127 for the *Achilleid*. These two little epics were perfect for the medieval classroom; they are on almost every medieval list of what students *should* read, and they figure prominently in the consensus of what modern medievalists believe medieval students *did* read.¹³ Both are often found in collections of school texts, sometimes with each other.¹⁴ Both tell stories that focus on Achilles, and both offer obvious attractions for adolescent boys.

Taken together, the *Achilleid* and *Ilias latina* provide the background and lead up to the story of the fall of Troy told in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*. Chronologically the story unfolds first in the *Achilleid*, with Achilles’s adventures up to the Trojan War; then in the *Ilias latina* during the Trojan War; and finally in Book 2 of the *Aeneid* with the destruction of Troy. An *accessus*, or academic introduction, to the *Ilias latina* in an Italian manuscript dated 1343 outlines this chronology as

part of discussing the traditional aspects of the text (see the top right paragraph in [Image 2.1](#), beginning with the second paragraph mark):



2.1. bpk Bildagentur / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany / Art Resource, NY. Ms. Diez. B Sant. 4, fol. 169r.

{¶ The author of this book [the *Ilias latina*] is Homer. ¶ The subject matter is the history of Troy from where the Greeks left the island of Aulis with their ships up to the place where Achilles killed Hector led around the city. ¶ Note that Statius started the story from where Paris snatched Helen, and Achilles was taken away [by Thetis], up to the point where the Greeks were at Aulis. Here this author begins, continuing to the killing of Hector, when Virgil in Book 2 of the *Aeneid* begins, continuing to the destruction of Troy, etc. The three [authors] treat the whole story of Troy in parts....15

From the point of view of difficulty for students, the *Ilias latina* is the most self-contained and straightforward text of the three. The *Achilleid* is more complex rhetorically, and, as was said, draws on material in the *Aeneid*, which the medieval students would not have studied yet. In this chapter, the *Achilleid* and the *Ilias latina* are addressed in the narrative order outlined in this *accessus*: first the boyhood of Achilles in the *Achilleid*, followed by the Trojan War through the death of Hector in the *Ilias latina*.

To show what and how students would have learned from reading these texts, I shall give a sequential presentation of the *Achilleid* and then a more selective analysis of the *Ilias latina*, showing what teachers thought would amuse or usefully instruct their pupils, who at this point appear to need help with almost everything. The students' experience of learning these texts along with glosses would have included the kind of grammatical clarification and vocabulary building that we saw with the short excerpt from the *Achilleid* discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Teachers often approach erotic scenes directly and sometimes with special attention: a pedagogical focus as medieval as that on emotion discussed in the first chapter.¹⁶ In the margins of the manuscripts, proverbial statements are literally noted and pointed out, similes are highlighted, and the Ciceronian *partes orationis* (parts of an oration) are applied to literary speeches in typical medieval fashion. In addition, the characterization in each work draws on the more basic categories of the Ciceronian Attributes of Characters.¹⁷ But, as was said in the first chapter, the constant and most consistent experience of students learning these texts was of the interlinear glosses, and we shall return to them shortly and constantly thereafter.

The *Achilleid* was not supposed to be a book about the boyhood of Achilles only. Statius clearly announces in the prologue that he is going to tell the story of

the entire hero, trumpeting him forth
from his hiding in Scyros and not stopping
with the dragging of Hector, but going on to hymn
the great warrior through the whole tale of Troy.

(*Ach.* 1.4–7; Lombardo 1.7–10)

Medieval teachers recognized this unfinished business, as here in quotations from two introductions to the work:

{The subject matter of this book are the deeds of Achilles from his youth to his demise, all of which Statius assuredly proposed to write. Prevented by death, he began but did not complete the work.}¹⁸

{The material cause of this book are the deeds of Achilles while he was

young, for the author, having died beforehand, was not able to sing the remainder of his [Achilles's] life.}19

Only a little way into the beginning of the second book in modern editions of the text, Statius leaves us with Achilles aboard ship accompanied by Ulysses and Diomedes on the way to war. According to Anderson, the text is undivided in some of the very earliest manuscripts of the *Achilleid*, while in others it is divided into book one and an unfinished book two (as in modern editions). By the twelfth century, however, when the *Achilleid* began to be widely used as a school text, it was customarily divided into five books of roughly the same length, with divisions typically at lines 1.98, 1.397, 1.675, and 2.1. This five-fold division was the norm for the next several centuries through most of the early printed editions, although some very late manuscripts do divide the text into only two books.20 A comment in the thirteenth-century Harley manuscript with character sketches observes this inconsistency: { [N]ote that some assert that this book is divided into two books, some into three, some into four, and some into five, but *** I divide into five books}.21

Medieval commentators turned what Statius left into a short, balanced *Bildungsroman* that takes Achilles to the brink of adulthood. According to the standard medieval division, Book 1 introduces Thetis, Achilles's sea-nymph mother; Chiron, his half-horse tutor; and finally Achilles himself. Book 2 describes how Thetis takes Achilles to the island of Scyros and he agrees to hide out as a girl. Book 3 compares the stagnation of the Greek army as it languishes without Achilles to Achilles's own forceful, virile— while pretending to be female—actions resulting in a rape. In Book 4, Ulysses and Diomedes arrive at Scyros and trick Achilles into revealing himself. Book 5 describes Achilles's departure with the two famous Greek warriors.

In the *accessus* to the commentary on the *Achilleid* published by Paul Clogan, the five books are summarized in parallel grammatical constructions that make them easy to remember and that I've tried to reflect in the translation:

{ [I]n the first [book] he describes the worrying of the mother and the cause of the worry; in the second the concealing of the son; in the third, the searching of the Greeks; in the fourth, the discovering; in the fifth, the taking to Troy.}22

This medieval (re)construction of the *Achilleid* as a complete work is reified with versions of a final line added to many medieval manuscripts of the text: "The winds died down, and the ship, racing along, reached the shore" (*aura silet, et puppis currens ad litora venit*).

Uniting these books are the actions of the protagonist: {The author intends to describe the deeds of Achilles}.23 These actions

are often framed in terms of the adults in Achilles's life, as in a fragment of an *accessus* from the 1471 first edition of the *Achilleid*, here quoted from the fragment: **{The subject of Statius's poem is Thetis and Achilles; Statius takes him to Troy, enumerating some of his deeds in his early life, as is clear in the end of the book}**, where Achilles describes to his shipmates the early training he received from Chiron (2.96–165; Lombardo 2.109–184).²⁴ An *accessus* to the *Achilleid* in a thirteenth-century German collection of basic school texts (later owned by Hartmann Schedel) offers as one of the author's possible intentions **{to describe the manly strengths (*virtutes*) of Achilles nourished by Chiron}**.²⁵ The same *accessus* also declares, **{The principal subject matter of the book is Thetis and Achilles, and the secondary subject is Diomedes and Ulysses}**.²⁶ A fourteenth-century Italian manuscript in Venice lists those who mentor Achilles in the following variation (note the term *habitus* for later):

{The subject matter of Statius in this work is Thetis and Achilles.²⁷ His intention is to describe in meter how Achilles was nurtured by Chiron on the mountain of Pelion, and how he hid on the island of Scyros in the court of Lycomedes in the *habitus* of a woman, and how he was brought to the Trojan War with the war trumpet of Ulysses.}²⁸

Thus, a medieval way to look at the *Achilleid* is as a series of stages of maturation reflecting a series of adult mentors. Achilles is quasi-feral with Chiron, girlish after Thetis's instructions on comportment, and more manly by the minute with Ulysses and Diomedes.

Although this emphasis on the adults who shape Achilles may seem odd, it reflects one of the categories of characterization described by Cicero in his earliest rhetorical treatise, *De inventione*, which was widely read in the Middle Ages.²⁹ These *attributa personarum* (translated here as Attributes of Characters) were originally a set of guidelines to help lawyers create convincing portrayals of defendants in the Roman law courts. Later, however, they were also applied to aspects of characterization in literary narratives.³⁰ The Attribute most relevant to these medieval analyses of the *Achilleid* is the third, *victus*.³¹ This term is translated literally as "Manner of Life," but it also includes what we would call influences, as is clear in the beginning of Cicero's description: "Under *manner of life* should be considered with whom [someone] was reared, in what tradition and under whose direction, what teachers he had in the liberal arts, what instructors in the art of living" (*Inv.* 1.25.35).³² The relevance to teaching of this approach to Achilles's character is articulated in one of two *accessus* added to the *Achilleid* in a manuscript of school texts copied in Leipzig in 1481, ÖNB Cod.

{The intention of Statius in this book is, therefore, that, in describing the boyhood of Achilles and how he was brought up during boyhood, he intends to teach us the education of boys and how boys are to be brought up so that afterwards they be made manly and strong. His subject is Thetis and Achilles. The usefulness of the book is so that, having learned how Achilles was brought up, who afterwards was the bravest of the Greeks, we know how to bring up and teach boys in a similar way.}34

This focus on mentors and character development through teaching is reinforced by the medieval restructuring of the text as a complete narrative of boy-to-manhood.

Medieval Book 1 (*Ach.* 1.1–197; Lombardo 1.1–223) begins, after a dedication, with Achilles’s mother, Thetis, who glimpses Paris and the Trojan fleet returning to Troy with Helen and foresees the war to come. She knows that the Greeks will soon “be / scouring land and sea for my son Achilles” (*Ach.* 1.37; Lombardo 1.43–44). In a phrase to be remembered for the end of this chapter, she imagines him as already “playing at Lapith battles”—that is, fighting a legendary race of warriors (*Ach.* 1.40; Lombardo 1.48). The Lapiths were the enemies of and sometimes confused with centaurs, as in one of the triangular glosses in an eleventh-century English manuscript of the *Achilleid*, Lincoln College, Oxford, Lat. 27, fol. 63v (another folio is reproduced in [Frontispiece 2](#)):

{The Lapiths were
called centaurs,
man beasts,
very war-like.}35

Thetis begs Neptune for permission to sink the Trojan ships in a grandiloquent speech much noted in manuscripts, to stop the “criminals” led by Paris, to “overwhelm their decks!” Then in a surprise change in direction,³⁶ she pleads, “Or assign the sea to me!” (*Ach.* 1.61–76; Lombardo 1.72–88). Neptune gently refuses both her requests, however, and Thetis has to figure out some other way to keep Achilles from the war in which he is fated to die.

Still in the medieval first book, we learn that young Achilles has been living in a cave with his centaur teacher, Chiron, who has been teaching him to play the lyre as well as to hunt. When Thetis arrives, Chiron shamefacedly begs her to take Achilles away, for the boy has grown so strong that his depredations are causing great trouble, and some of the other centaurs are plotting revenge. Achilles arrives carrying two lion cubs, which he casually tosses aside when he sees his mother and runs to her. But by choice it is Chiron with whom

Achilles sleeps this last night, “preferring, / though his faithful mother is there, that familiar chest” (*Ach.* 1.195–96; Lombardo 1.222–23).

Medieval Book 2 of the *Achilleid* (1.198–396; Lombardo 1.224–447) is summarized as follows in a thirteenth-century Italian manuscript in Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. class. e. 47:

{Here begins the second book of the *Achilleid*. In the first part is contained Thetis’s worry about concealing her son, namely Achilles, from his predestined death: about the connection of that death to the war threatening Europe and Asia. And this is the source of the worry in his mother’s mind. Afterwards is added this same mother’s ponderings: how she was pondering and deliberating with herself how she could hide her son Achilles so that he should not set out to the violence [of war]. When then night overtook Chiron and Achilles, Thetis in contrast was not able to sleep on account of her worries.}37

She picks up the sleeping boy and carries him, drawn by dolphins in harness (she is a water nymph after all), to the island where she will hide him. It is there that Achilles awakes, dazed and confused, as in the lines quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

While he is still disoriented and dependent, Thetis begins trying to convince Achilles to pretend to be a girl (*Ach.* 1.252–74; Lombardo 1.285–312). In a late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century Italian collection of school texts in London, BL Add. 22314, a gloss on the line before the speech begins analyzes what follows in rhetorical terms:

{He puts [here] the words of Thetis to her son, namely Achilles, and first she introduces (*exorditur*), second she states the facts (*nar<r>at*), third she supports her argument (*confirmat*), fourth she refutes the opposing argument (*confutat*), and fifth she concludes (*concludit*).}38

These divisions are based on the classical *partes orationis*, or parts of an oration: *exordium* / Introduction, *narratio* / Statement of Facts, *divisio* / Structure, *confirmatio* / Support for Argument, *confutatio* / Consideration of Opposing Arguments, and *conclusio* / Conclusion (*Rhet. Her.* 1.6.4).39 In medieval manuscripts they are often employed loosely40 and, as here, applied to speeches by female as well as male characters.41 This summary gloss in BL 22314 is the earliest use of them that I have seen; more commonly the parts are identified in the margins separately (as in the speech reproduced in [Image 2.3](#) discussed below).

Here Thetis reinforces Achilles’s essential manliness, in contrast to what she emphasizes is the temporary, nonessential quality of what she is about to ask him to do.42 First, in her *exordium* (Introduction), she reassures Achilles that he is half immortal because of her: it was her forced marriage to a human that has left him vulnerable to death

(*Ach.* 1.252–58; Lombardo 1.285–93). In the short *narratio* (Statement of Facts) she describes the issue of temporarily hiding his gender as taking on her *habitus*. We have seen this term already when we were told, in an *accessus* quoted earlier, that part of Statius’s {**intention is to describe in verse ... how he hid on the island of Scyros in the court of Lycomedes in the *habitus* of a woman**}.⁴³ Thetis approaches the subject indirectly, asking him “to be a little less manly now and think it / not unworthy of you to wear clothes like mine” (*Ach.* 1.259–60; Lombardo 1.294–95). More literally, she asks him “to consider my *habitus* worthy” (*habitus dignare meos*). According to Cicero, the meaning of *habitus*, another of his Attributes of Characters, is in part “the acquisition of some capacity or of an art, or again some special knowledge, or some bodily dexterity not given by nature but won by careful training and practice” (*Inv.* 1.25.36).⁴⁴ Cicero does not mention dress, but recall the cognate in English: a nun’s “habit.” Thetis’s deliberate vagueness is starkly clarified in medieval glosses; e.g., “my {female} *habitus* {clothing}.”⁴⁵

Next, in the *confirmatio* or Support for her Argument, she reinforces the connection between female impersonation and underlying masculine identity and strength by listing famous gods and heroes who donned women’s clothing, including Hercules, Bacchus, Jupiter, and (less exactly) Caenus (*Ach.* 1.260–65; Lombardo 1.296–301). These references are explained in marginal glosses, as in Clm 391: {**If <Hercules carded> Lydian <wool> Hercules donned the clothes of Yoles, his virgin, and Bacchus donned the very long pallium in sacrifices. Jupiter slept with Callisto in the shape of Diana. Caenis having suffered the forced sex of Neptune was changed into a man.**}⁴⁶

Anticipating Achilles’s refusal, Thetis says in her classical *confutatio* or Refutation of Opposing Arguments that he would have to don the disguise for only a short while (*Ach.* 1.266–67; Lombardo 2.302–03). In her *conclusio* / Conclusion she reminds him of what she has done for him, including protecting almost all of his body. (The first surviving reference to Thetis dipping Achilles in the River Styx is in the *Achilleid.*) She finishes by assuring Achilles, “Chiron {your teacher} will never know” (*Ach.* 1.274; Lombardo 1.312).⁴⁷ In the lines following, thoughts of Chiron as well as his father, Peleus, help him to resist: “Working against her / were his father, his great tutor, and the raw ingredients / of a noble nature” (*Ach.* 1.275–77; Lombardo 1.313–15). A marginal gloss in the manuscript with the interlinear one just quoted clarifies these lines: {**There were three reasons why Achilles was refusing female *habitus*: first, because his father Peleus was a fierce soldier; second, because he was afraid of his teacher; third, because he was afraid to blacken his**

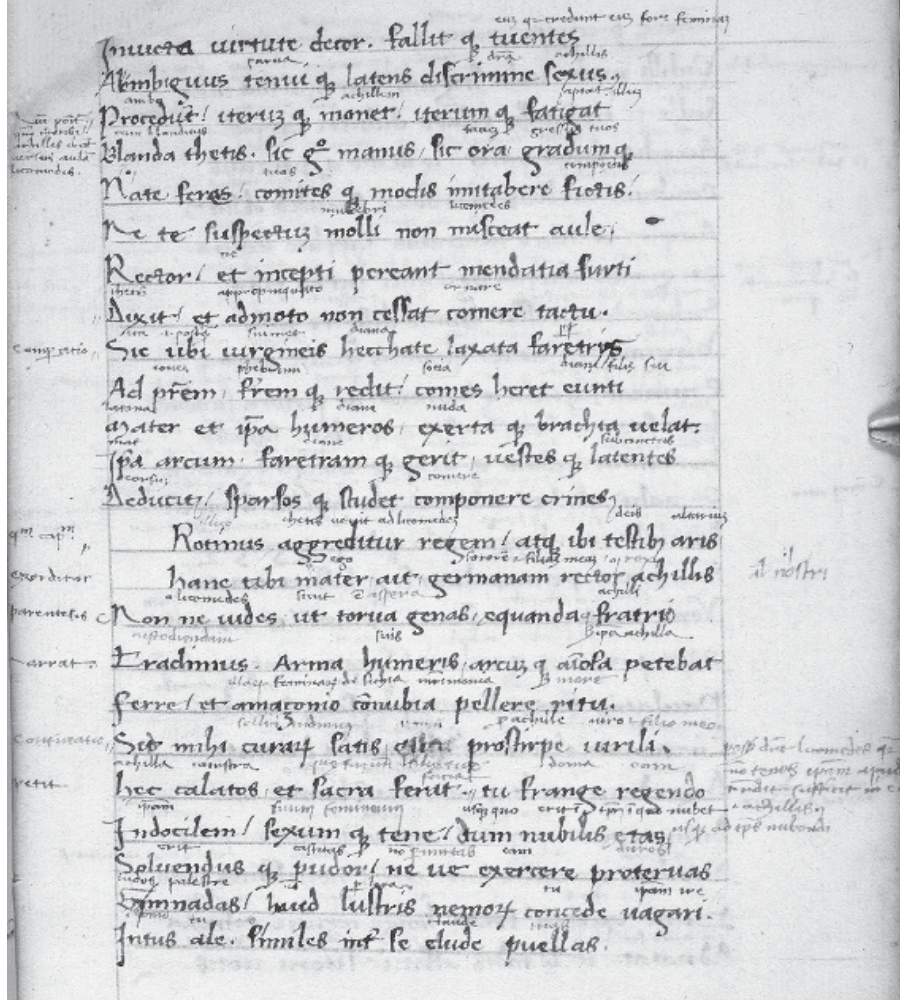
reputation.}⁴⁸ Note the double emphasis on Chiron here in the same manuscript from which the longer description of the subject matter of mentors was quoted above.

A digression: although—or perhaps because—Thetis assures Achilles that Chiron would never hear of Achilles’s time disguised as a girl, we find a model speech entitled, “What words would Chiron say when he hears that Achilles is living in the girls’ quarters?” among the many rhetorical showpieces written by the great sixth-century Greek rhetorician and teacher Libanius.⁴⁹ In this speech the centaur is horrified and at first refuses to believe the rumors. Reinforcing the theme of education in his relationship with Achilles, Chiron cries, “O education and virtue, disgraced by these words!” Ironically, Chiron assumes that Thetis will be distraught to hear the news: “Who, then,” he asks, “will be a messenger of this to Thetis? For being a goddess and a woman she will be ashamed at the present situation.”⁵⁰ Chiron is so upset that he vows to give up teaching, concluding, “[L]et my school of virtue be dissolved, let my beloved roster of youths be dismissed; for the outcome of this education, because dishonorable, makes me afraid.”⁵¹

Back to our hero: at first resisting his mother’s arguments, Achilles suddenly catches a glimpse of a beautiful maiden, the king’s daughter Deidamia, whose physical appearance has a powerful effect. As the commentator in a lovely fourteenth-century Italian manuscript states in his summary introducing Medieval Book 2, **{the author praises her for the beauty of her body and her *habitus*. He says that Achilles begins to burn with flames of love at her appearance}**.⁵² [Image 2.2](#) reproduces the description of her beauty in another fourteenth-century Italian manuscript, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30, with a gloss identifying a simile in lines 1.293–96 (Lombardo 1.333–36): **{An epic simile says that Deidamia surpasses her sisters in beauty as much as Venus surpasses the other goddesses when she stands in the sea, or as much as Diana surpasses the Naiads}**.⁵³ The abbreviation for the word *comparatio* is very large, a fused and stylized **{C’O}**. On this folio page there are two, one in this gloss and another in the last lines on the image describing Achilles’s flushed face when he sees Deidamia (*Ach.* 1.307–09; Lombardo 1.348–51). The identifications of *comparationes* are one of the most common marginal annotations in medieval manuscripts of classical texts; they take many forms and can be highly decorative. Those in this manuscript are simple but still easy to find and identify.⁵⁴

practice / *studio et industria*,” to quote a phrase from Cicero’s description of *habitus* (although probably not the kind that the nineteen-year-old Roman author had in mind):⁵⁵ **{Afterwards he describes how Thetis instructed the unsophisticated boy in feminine movement and behaviour}.⁵⁶**

Having accomplished his transformation, Thetis takes her son to King Lycomedes, asking protection for the person she introduces as Achilles’s “*germanam* / female sibling” (*Ach.* 1.350; Lombardo 1.395 has “sister”). This term for Achilles in drag is glossed **{sister and my daughter}** above line 15 on folio 32r of BL 2560, reproduced in [Image 2.3.⁵⁷](#) Now look at the glosses to the left of the bottom half of the image, beginning with a note identifying this speech as the **{fifth chapter}**, that is, of Medieval Book 2.⁵⁸ Below are the *partes orationis*, all but two of them in verbal form; those two (one on the verso side of the manuscript folio and hence not on the image) are in lighter ink and possibly added by a later hand. Each *pars* is written next to the section of the speech that it identifies. Paradoxically, these divisions (and the aside identified as a parenthesis and so rendered in Lombardo’s translation) help heighten the comic potential of the speech and of Achilles’s disguise. As is often the case, the medieval divisions do not follow the standard classical order and list.⁵⁹ The Refutation (*confutatio*) precedes the Request (*petitio*, a term adopted from medieval epistolary rhetoric, usually replacing the *divisio* of classical rhetoric), and, on the verso side of the image, the Support for the Argument (*confirmatio*) is combined with the Conclusion (*conclusio*). Here are the left-hand marginal identifications (including the parenthesis) followed by the words of Thetis to which they refer (*Ach.* 1.350–62; Lombardo 1.395–408):



{She begins}

"I present to you, lord, my Achilles' sister

{Parenthesis}

(and doesn't she look just like her fierce brother?) for your safekeeping.

{She states the facts}

Spirited as she is, she has sought

to carry a bow and shun wedlock like an Amazon.

{Refutation of possible objection}

But I have enough worries with my male offspring.

{She makes a request}

Let her carry baskets in processions. Keep her in line, the indocile girl, until she is old enough to marry and lose her virginity. Don't let her exercise naked in the gymnasium or wander in the woods.

Raise her indoors, secluded with the other girls.⁶⁰
And be especially careful to keep her away
from the harbor and shore.

{She confirms while concluding}

You just saw the Trojans’
sails go by. Ships have now learned to cross the sea
and violate laws that are common to all.”⁶¹

While most of the interlinear glosses in the manuscript focus on vocabulary and grammatical clarity, others highlight Thetis’s dissimulating references to Achilles, as in the gloss on *germanam* quoted above. The “male offspring” with whom she has her hands full is glossed **{for Achilles, a man and my son}**, while the “her” in “Let her carry baskets” is glossed **{Achilla}**: “Achilles” with a feminine ending attached.⁶²

Medieval Book 3 (1.397–674) takes us first to the Greek camp and then back to Achilles. Both settings reinforce Achilles’s male identity just as he has been convinced to pretend to be a woman. From the Greeks we learn the effect of Achilles’s absence from the fighting. They are in desperate straits, and Protesilaus, one of the Greek leaders and the warrior fated to die first in the conflict, threatens the prophet Calchas and begs him to locate Achilles so that he can be brought to Troy. Calchas is forced to call on Apollo, through whom all is revealed (more on this scene in [Chapter 3](#)), as summarized in the gloss to the first line of this section in Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°: **{Here Calchas calls the divinity to him and reveals the hiding place of Achilles, to whom Diomedes and Ulysses, united in purpose, are directed}**.⁶³

Meanwhile back in Scyros, Achilles and Deidamia become best female friends—and more. A simile compares their gradually changing emotional and physical relationship to that of Jupiter and Juno when young, and the interlinear and marginal glosses added to the simile in HAB Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4° show a persistent interest in their relationship and its relevance here.⁶⁴

Just so **{in such a way}** the Olympian **{being}** young

{¶ Just so just as Achilles was kissing Deidamia}

would plant, under **{his}** mother Rhea’s nose, furtive **{lustful}** kisses
on his unworried sister **{Juno}** when he was still just her brother,

**{¶ unworried because she was not afraid of her trust being
violated by her brother}**

until his respect for **{existing}** consanguinity **{re}**ceded **{to the point where
he had sexual intercourse with her}**

and his sister **{Juno}** was alarmed by his real⁶⁵ **{indeed conjugal}**
affections.

{¶ Real affections he says [this] since natural affection was turned

Achilles berates himself: “How long will you endure / your fearful mother’s schemes and waste the prime / of your life in unmanly captivity?” (Ach. 1.624–26; Lombardo 1.699–701). He contrasts his condition to that of Patroclus, described in the same manuscript in a marginal gloss on line 1.633 (Lombardo 1.708) as **{¶ This Patroclus, brought up in the household of Chiron and the companion of Achilles, afterwards the armor bearer of Achilles}**.⁶⁷ Patroclus is still with Chiron and now learning to use the weapons that Achilles left behind, while Achilles has learned how to spin yarn (1.634–36; Lombardo 1.710–11), a contrast summarized bluntly in this gloss in a manuscript whose introductions have been quoted several times: **{Understand: O Patroclus, thus you perform manly, while I feminine, actions}**.⁶⁸

Finally Achilles goads himself to action: under cover of the celebration of female religious mysteries, he rapes Deidamia.⁶⁹ He “gets his way by force, putting all his heart / into authentic embraces” (Ach. 1.642–43; Lombardo 1.720–21), with “by force” often glossed **{with violence}**.⁷⁰ One manuscript glosses “all his heart” with **{that is, with his complete will}**; according to another Achilles’s embraces are “authentic” because **{not pretend, as before when he presented himself as a woman}**.⁷¹ Modern students sometimes do not realize that sex has taken place, and some medieval students may have needed clarification as well. A series of glosses summarizing the events and their aftermath in the margin of BL Add. 17404 begins with the blunt statement **{Achilles violates Deidamia}**.⁷² When Statius continues, “The whole choir of stars / watched from above, and the slender Moon blushed” (1.643–44; Lombardo 1.721–22), “Moon” is glossed **{virgin}** in the manuscript that explains what “authentic embraces” are, and the blush is explained as **{on account of shame}**.⁷³ A marginal gloss in yet another manuscript elaborates: **{which is to say the moon is ashamed on account of such a sex act, since she is the goddess of chastity}**.⁷⁴

The manuscript with the triangular marginal glosses quoted earlier about Lapiths has very explicit interlinear glosses here telling us what the author is doing, beginning with line nine of the text reproduced on [Frontispiece 2](#): “He gets his way **{sex}** by force, putting all his heart **{he [= the author] notes the effort}** / into authentic embraces **{he notes sexual intercourse}**.” There is a particularly egregious scribal variant in the next line: “the choir of stars laughed” (*risit*) rather than “saw” (*vidit*) what was happening below, and an interlinear gloss specifies that the stars “laughed **{on account of the sex}**.”⁷⁵ This

reading generated an outburst about such callousness in the large triangular comment in the middle of the right-hand margin:

{¶ I am surprised that a wise man and
very erudite poet so wishes to please
men with such horrible, foul
language and a foolish lie
that he says that the
stars laugh and the
moon is ashamed
on account
of the vile
act.}76

Deidamia is “in shock, stunned by these outrages” (*Ach.* 1.662; Lombardo 1.742). She turns, as so many girls will do in later texts, to her nurse, “who ... agrees to be their partner in crime” (*Ach.* 1.669–70; Lombardo 1.752), literally, in their “secret actions” (*furtis*), glossed {that is, sex acts taking place in secret} in HAB Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°.77 The nurse protects both Achilles and Deidamia through the resulting pregnancy and beyond.

The fourth book according to the medieval division of the text (*Ach.* 1.675–960; Lombardo 1.757–1074) begins with the voyage of Ulysses and Diomedes to Scyros, where the public masculinity of the protagonist is restored as he literally takes up arms. At Ulysses’s instruction, Diomedes has hidden a shield and spear among gifts for the girls, and Achilles snatches them up when the war trumpet sounds. But even before this scene Achilles’s true nature begins to reveal itself as the girls are asked to dance before their famous guests; his *habitus* starts to slip:

Then especially is Achilles prominent,
careless about his turns or linking arms,
scorning more than usual feminine steps and dress,
disrupting the dance-rings and causing confusion.

(*Ach.* 1.835–38; Lombardo 1.926–29)

When Achilles sees the weapons, everything changes (“His mother’s mandates, his secret love mean nothing; / Troy was all his heart” [Lombardo 1.950–51]), with an abruptness reflected in the terseness of the text: *nusquam mandata parentis*, / *nusquam occultus amor*, *totoque in pectore Troia est*, translated more literally as “nowhere mandates of parent, nowhere secret love; Troy is in all [his] heart” (*Ach.* 1.856–57). As with English translations, words are often added in the Latin glosses on this line and a half. Several hands, for example, contribute these glosses in Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°:

... Nowhere **{are}** mandates of **{his}** parent

{that is, he does not recall to memory the mandates of his parent, namely that he not show himself to be a man};

Nowhere **{was}** secret love **{of Deidamia}**; and Troy **{that is, the Trojan War}** is in all [his] heart **{desire}**.

{¶ Nowhere secret: the secret love of Deidamia is not recalled to memory by Achilles.}78

At last Achilles reveals himself to the king, placing his son at Lycomedes's feet and saying that he overpowered the king's daughter ("Who / could withstand these arms?") (*Ach.* 1.904; Lombardo 1.1005–06).

The lovers are quickly married and spend what will be their last night together. Deidamia is overcome with dread, and she laments Achilles's coming departure and her fears for the future. In a small, much-glossed German manuscript of the twelfth century, HAB Cod. Guelf. 301 Extrav., the following lines of her lament are neumed (musical notation has been added) on fol. 41r:79

"[W]hen you come back, swollen with pride,
bringing Trojan captives and all their possessions,
will you want to forget where you hid out as a girl?
I don't know what to beg for first, or what to fear.
Anxious as I am, what charge can I give you
when I don't even have time to weep?"

(*Ach.* 1.932–36; Lombardo 1.1042–47)

Deidamia concludes her lament with "at least grant me this,/ that no barbarian wife ever bear your child, / no captive give Thetis an unworthy grandson" (*Ach.* 1.954–55; Lombardo 1.1067–69), which one of the commentators in Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4° bluntly paraphrases as **{that is, grant me that you will not sleep with a Trojan woman}**.80 Achilles tries to comfort her, but as the last line of both modern Book 1 and Medieval Book 4 tells us, "The storm winds swept his idle words away," glossed in the same manuscript with **{because he dies at Troy, and thus his words have no effect}**.81

Medieval Book 5 (2.1–167) corresponds with the unfinished Book 2 in modern editions. In less than two hundred lines, Achilles affirms his masculinity after acknowledging and rejecting his mother's influence. Then he recalls the period when he was with "sweet Chiron," as Achilles earlier described his teacher to Lycomedes (*Ach.* 1.896; Lombardo 1.996). This circling back to the beginning of the narrative at the end is identified as artificial order in the *accessus* to another late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century German manuscript:

{And note that in this book he uses artificial order. For there are two orders of composition (*scribendi*), namely artificial and natural. Natural is when the story is in the order in which the deeds were done, as in Statius's *Thebaid* and in Sedulius Scottus. Artificial order is when those things which would need to be written first are deferred for a time and then brought in appropriately, as in the *Aeneid* and in this book. For in this book is described first how, for fear of the Trojan War, Achilles, having been abducted by his mother according to a deliberate plan, afterwards is brought to the court of Lycomedes on the island of Scyros. [Passages] concerning the infancy of Achilles himself are appropriately and competently introduced when he himself relates in sequence the strengths and deeds of his childhood to Ulysses and his companions.}82

This *accessus* highlights the important effects of the medieval (re) structuring of the *Achilleid*: it allows this commentator to point out not just the fact of the artificial order of the events in the text (a sign of sophistication in medieval poetic and rhetorical theory⁸³), but also the author's skill, his appropriateness and competence when reintroducing the earlier events, this time in the voice of one of the characters (in contrast to their partial narration in the medieval first book). Now this history is told to the audience of Greek warriors at whose side Achilles will fight. The *accessus* also provides those studying the text with signposts for elegant compositions, the emphasis being on both *where* one should artfully rearrange the order and *how* to do it successfully.

When Achilles boards the ship that will take him to the war at the beginning of this last book, he has become a man—and a scary one: At first no one dares refer to the fact that he has been hiding out as a woman. Instead, everyone acts as if he “were walking up to the ships / straight from Chiron’s cavern” (*Ach.* 2.11; Lombardo 2.12–13).

Meanwhile back on land his wife is keeping watch:
 And far away, leaning out from the top of a tower
 with her weeping sisters and holding the infant Pyrrhus,
 as he was named, his wife fixed her eyes on the sails....
 Achilles too kept turning his eyes
 toward the beloved walls, thinking of the widowed house
 and the sobs of the deserted woman. Passion
 hidden in his heart is reborn, and valor gives way.

(*Ach.* 2.23–30; Lombardo 2.27–34)

A rough drawing of Deidamia holding her babe in arms is attached to the first part of this description in BL Harley 2744 (fol. 207r), reproduced in [Image 2.4.84](#) Further historiatio

Below the portrait highlights Achilles's simultaneous thoughts of her that leave him unmanned and Ulysses worried: “Ulysses sees him grieving and tries to bring him around / with gentle words” (*Ach.* 2.30–31; Lombardo

2.35–36). As the commentator in HAB 52 Gud. lat. 2° paraphrases the scene, **{In this section Ulysses talks to Achilles, whom he saw succumb to love}**.⁸⁵

Ulysses distracts him by asking—finally!—what everyone on shipboard wants to know: Why was he hiding as a woman? Achilles demurs, saying that his “mother’s crime” would take too long to relate, and, besides, he is planning to make up in battle for “those disgraceful clothes” (*Ach.* 2.44–45; Lombardo 2.49–50). Instead, he asks Ulysses to tell him how the Trojan War started, which introduces a summary of the Judgment of Paris and its tragic aftermath. This information is told **{succinctly}**, as the same commentator puts it,⁸⁶ so much so that notes providing background information, especially mythological, are often added. In fact, in the twelfth-century neumed manuscript of the *Achilleid* in Wolfenbüttel, in which many hands have crammed numerous, highly abbreviated marginal notes, a small fragment of parchment has been bound in to allow for extended elaboration on the abduction of Helen and the story of Europa.⁸⁷

When Diomedes then asks Achilles about his earlier life with Chiron, Achilles is “hesitant,” and a gloss explains, **{¶ Hesitant whether he should speak or be quiet about himself}**.⁸⁸ Finally, however, Achilles provides stark new details about his childhood training:

Merita gentis uulcani placata ē.
hic spuma te salo lades tūm exta pſat.
Purum gētiū quāq; hauri tollantū nileb.
Purum nūmū bella totūna uatēq;
Argolicas q̄ſius eo fic ext^o alno.
Juſſit uir p̄ſius q; notho ſtridē p̄pique.
Antip̄o tēne tū andua cētē miles.
Inap̄ z ſq̄res lōge diſcētē pōto.



Tante paul ſūma lacrimis cōtata ſororū.
Conſellūq; tēne tēne nōia p̄pū.
Parcebat aux oculū in caruſa fixis.
ſuoc̄ t̄p̄a ſitū z puppi ſola uidebat.
ſſic quāq; obliques dilecta amena milū.
Oedūat uroūa q; domū gētiq; reſcite.
Cogitat oculū ſub corde tēne ſuū ardor.
Quāq; lacū nū ſenſit lacū hēre.
Tēne z placidus agſius ſitē dās.
Tēne igo magne uallatoz reſcite tōic.
Quē dīnae clāſſes q; dūm ozaūla poſcūt.
Ereſtū q; māc̄ reſcite ilūne lēllū.
Callū ſitū gētiū uelū amicu.
Comſit q; ulho tū gētiū ſitū latebāt.
Spūit q; ſitū nūmo ofuſ ſela nūuſq;
Quē an̄ tātū nūmo torpēt iūbra.
Quē uir autūo hūm dāgore reſcite.
Ereſtū z dūm q; ſitū ſitū ignē.
Nōmū ē quod in arma uel ſeq̄lōz p̄cantes.
Venūſſes ulūo q; talib; acup̄ hēre.
Ereſtū lōgū ē reſcite exōne cō.
Sēro z urores fatōū cūmū aūlū.
Quōnūq; neſis hēre cūſabū cūſe.
Tu pot̄ dū lēne ſitū gētiū q; ſitū.
Caruſa q; dūm tātū p̄moria belū.
Ereſtū lēne hēre ſitū p̄moria.
Tūc̄ tātū p̄moria lōgū oſū.

... “I am told
that in my tender years, when I was still crawling
and the old Centaur received me on his stark mountain,
I didn’t eat regular food or nurse from a breast
but tore at tough lion innards and sucked marrow
from half-alive she-wolves.”

(*Ach.* 2.96–100; Lombardo 2.109–14)

Later parts of this long passage, like Achilles’s description of hunting “some lioness / with her cubs in a hidden mountainside cavern” (*Ach.* 2.125; Lombardo 2.140–41), deliberately echo events from the beginning of the work. Chiron also made Achilles learn to withstand icy waters, outrun animals like the horses of mythical Lapith warriors (another echo of an earlier detail), and push his body beyond human limits, but his tough love also included training in medicine and law.

For more than fifty lines Achilles dwells on these memories, which, he says, are all he remembers of his childhood, and in which, he adds, “I take joy” (*Ach.* 2.167; Lombardo 2.185). The original final, stark half line of Statius’s text, “my mother knows the rest,” simultaneously acknowledges and dismisses Thetis’s influence and earlier power. The concluding line added in so many medieval manuscripts then brings the ship to shore.

Thus, it would be hard to find a text more saturated with themes of a character’s upbringing and education than the *Achilleid* with its details of specific aspects of Cicero’s *Attribute of “Manner of Life / victus”* discussed earlier, including “in what tradition and under whose direction,” with “what teachers in the liberal arts,” and “what instructors in the art of living” Achilles’s character was shaped. His boyhood experience with his first teacher was both brutal and sweet, and the time with his mother was a literal and figurative deviation from his manly path. At the end of the text he heads off to war with his new mentors, Ulysses and Diomedes, respectively the smartest leader and an archetypal warrior of the Greeks, who will, it is implied, turn him into a man.

In the *Achilleid*, Achilles puts on women’s clothes in order to act out his masculine feelings of aggression, not to experience women’s emotions. It affirms the transience of cross-dressing and pretending to be a woman, and it reassures the masculinity of boys and young men who would take on such a temporary disguise. This text is tailor-made for classroom situations in which the fear of acting as a woman might surface. Yet, while queries about that fear are often the first question I am asked by students and colleagues when discussing medieval boys’ responding to Dido’s feelings, it is not emphasized in medieval manuscripts.⁸⁹ An illuminated manuscript in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, however, contains an illustration of a bearded, armed knight in

the decorated initial “P” of a verse introduction to the *Achilleid* that could be a preemptive response to such possible anxiety (Ham. 608, fol. 3r).⁹⁰ Its placement at the beginning makes it a primary cue for the text.

No ambiguity about masculinity is generated by the school text that takes up the story of Achilles in Troy from the *Iliad*: the *Ilias latina*, or Latin Homer, introduced at the beginning of this chapter. Although based on one of the most sophisticated works in the Western canon, the *Ilias latina* was an introductory text in the medieval classroom. It offers many male and a few female characters whose genders and actions are clearly differentiated: women are women, men are men, and what men do is fight—and die. But the perspective of the *Ilias latina* is more Trojan (that is, Roman) than Greek. Tony Hunt suggests that it “achieved popularity in the Middle Ages on account of its brevity and Virgilian flavor.”⁹¹ The Trojans are good guys, and the Greeks, especially lustful Agamemnon and sly Ulysses, are bad. Women are more marginalized than in the *Iliad*, also more simplified and generic. (The men are simplified and generic as well, but they receive more attention.) When I first described the *Ilias latina* to a learned col-league, she said that it sounded like a “Boys’ Own *Iliad*,” or, from an American context, a Classic Comics version of Homer’s story: the facts, just the facts, easily visualized and remembered, and, I suspect, to those who did not know the original, curiously satisfying. With an almost all-male cast and lots of fighting, it would have been an ideal text for an audience of boys and for teaching epic vocabulary.

For teachers and students alike, one obvious appeal of the *Ilias latina* lies in the comparative ease of comprehension and visualization of the action. The delightfully cheesy reunion scene between Paris and Helen cited below, for example, has none of the complexity of character and motive of Homer’s couple.⁹² Here are parts of that extended passage with some of the glosses from a fifteenth-century composite manuscript in which the *Ilias latina* is bound with the *Achilleid* (BL Harley 2560).⁹³ The glosses identify direct address, clarify images conveying Helen’s emotions of fear and love at the beginning, identify patronymics (including Helen’s mythical birth), make concrete the sexual nature of the scene’s conclusion, and end with a memorable image of conflagration:

“Have you come, {O} Paris my flame {my love}, defeated by the arms
of my former spouse {Menelaus}? {I, yes Helen} saw and it shamed
{me} to see {you}
seized {captured} as {when} violent {predator} Atrides {Menelaus}
dragged you off....
Alas for miserable {unfortunate} me, I feared lest the Doric {Greek}

sword {of Menelaus}

Would divide {would separate} our kisses {our love}....

{The answer of Paris to Helen is expressed: ...}

Sad {melancholic} Alexander {Paris} answers: "Atrides {Menelaus, son of Atreus} did not overcome {conquer} me,

O my passion {love}; the anger {resentment against me} of
circumspect {goddess} Pallas was to blame."

Soon {shortly} you {you Helen} will gaze upon {will see} him
{Menelaus} dishonorably {shamefully} succumb to my arms
and the Cytherean goddess {Venus} will come to aid my labor."

{What Paris did when these words had been said:}

After these {aforementioned words}, their bodies locked in a mutual
{reciprocal} embrace,

He lay with {climbed on top of } the Daughter of the Swan {Helen};
in {her} open lap⁹⁴

{Note that Jupiter slept with Leda in the shape of a swan,
from which were born two eggs, from one of which Castor
and Polux were born, from the other Helen [and]
Clytemnestra.}

she {Helen} received {welcomed} the flames of Troy {Paris} and of
herself.⁹⁵

(*Ilias* 320–38 with glosses in BL Harley 2560, fols. 7v–8r)

While Scaffai points out that Helen has become an Ovidian heroine and that her sex scene with Paris has Virgilian echoes,⁹⁶ the medieval glosses focus on the basic issues for students: summary, vocabulary, identification, and the specific as well as abstract implications of the riveting image at the end. Although the glosses interrupt the text, they remind us of the consistent attentiveness of those writing them and of what they thought students should understand and remember.

If we take the Ciceronian Attributes of Characters as a way to articulate the thematic principles of characterization, we find in this work a contrast to the *Achilleid* (and its focus on the *victus* or adult influences on the development of the protagonist). The dominant Attributes of Characters in the *Ilias latina* are those that precede *victus* in Cicero's list: Name (*nomen*, including patronymics); and Nature (*natura*), the subdivisions of which include whether one is divine or mortal; of what sex; what nationality, place of birth, family, and age (*Inv.* 1.24.35). Glosses attending to several of these basic aspects of characterization appear in the above passage.

We see the primacy of naming on the first page of the *Ilias latina* in one of the earliest English manuscripts of the text, Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. G. 57, folio 6r, which is reproduced in [Image 2.5.97](#) The second marginal comment, beginning *atrides* and connected by the "B" preceding it to that word in line 8, focuses on patronymics: {Atrides is a patronymic name, that is, son of Atreus, as Priamides is and

Eneades and ones similar to these}.⁹⁸ The gloss above is tied by its preceding “A” to an earlier patronymic, *pelide*, meaning “of the son of Peleus,” but instead of explaining this term it provides a memorable description of poetic inspiration: {The poet invokes a nymph, that is, a goddess of water. For the pagans believed that knowledge ascended to the heart of a man through the nine muses, as if through pipes. One of them is Calliope, who is in charge of poetry.}⁹⁹

Pindar^{us} ut serū transportū uexit omēti
Seduct ex greco dedit ēē poema latinū.

6

Hic incipit Liber quartus

IRAM pande michi pelide diua supbi
Iris^{ta} que miseri^{is} iniecit funera^{is} grauis
Atq; animos fortes heruū tradidit horro
Lacrimarūq; dedit rostris uolucruq; trahendos
Illo^{rum} exangues inhumatis ossib; art^{us}
Constituēbat enī suū sententia regis
Peritulerunt exq; discordia pectora pugnis
Sceleris gerat^{is} Atreides, abello darus achilles
Quis dā hos in tristi contendere iussit
Latone^{is} demagm ples iouis. illē pelagos^{is}
Infesta regi pelle inprecordia misit
Implicuitq; graui danaoru corpora morbo
A quondā chrisēs sollempni tampa^{na} uitca
Implicere^{is} raptē fleuit solatia nate
Nuisosq; dies inuisaq; tempora noctis
Fugit, & assiduū impleuit questub; aurās
Postquā nulla dies animū merore leuauit
Nullaq; leuibant patrios solatia flet^{us}
Casta peccat danaū. genit^{is}q; affusus atreide^{is}
Er supos regnuq; decus miserabilis orat^{is}
Vt sibi causa sue reddat nata saluti^{is}
Donā simul^{is} prefert. unciunt^{is} fleab; erus
A yrimdones. reddiq; patri chresēida censent
Sed negat atreides. chrisēsq; excedere castris

A Poeta inuocat
nephē. u. dea agri.
gentiles enī crede
bant ab aqua fecer
tā accende ad cor
hōis p nouē musas.
qñ p fistulas. ex
qñ; ē una calliope
que pēst poetarū.

B Atreides = patro
nomiū nom. c.
filius atrei sic
= hamides. c. ene
ades. zhis simili.

T Poib; alius dū
posuit. u. c. c. c.
nas duosq; deos
u. qñ dōr. c. c.
dell. f. c. c.
qñ. c. c. c.
u. c. c. c.

ph
u. c. c. c. c.
u. c. c. c. c.
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2.5. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Rawl. G. 57, fol. 6r. Courtesy The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford.

As in this manuscript, the *Ilias latina* is often found introduced not so much by a formal introduction or *accessus* as by simple notes. On the first folio of the manuscript quoted above about the reunion of Paris and Helen, four major glosses down the left-hand margin simply

summarize the action after the invocation. Each begins, **{Here the author puts ...}**. The fourth, for example, states, **{Here the author puts how Chryses, after much weeping, went to Agamemnon himself asking that he [Agamemnon] give back to him his daughter}** (BL Harley 2560, fol. 1r).¹⁰⁰ Such marginal glosses in this manuscript are a counterpoint to the information provided about individual words of the text, which are thoroughly glossed with grammatical and syntactical information. For example, after a scene added by Baebius in which a soldier watches the death of his brother, a gloss in BL Harley 2560 tells us that **{he then describes what happened through a simile}**:¹⁰¹

As when a bird that sees a hawk mangle the torn body
of her young and cannot move against him
nor, anxious as she is, can she bring aid to her fledgling,
but only beat her breast with her light wings,
so did Idæus look with horror at the foe vaunting o'er
his brother's death but cannot help the wretched man
and, had he not withdrawn, he would have fallen by that very hand.

(*Ilias* 417–23)

Verbal sketches of the actions of major figures and gangs of soldiers are blunt and uncomplicated, as just before this scene when Diomedes “treads on heaped up bodies of the dead” (402), or when Aeneas similarly “mows down / [the Greeks'] bare backs with sword and scatters deadly battle” (484–85). Earlier, when

The battle lines heave on all sides and the sky grows dark
with dust and the ether resounds with outcries (474–75),

the commentator in BL Harley 2560 notes here **{a hyperbolic display}** and clarifies the action: **{Here is put the resumption of the war through different actions on the part of both sides, Trojans and Greeks}**.¹⁰² In the *Ilias latina* the arc of the war is ruthlessly compressed, without the delaying tactics on the part of Homer that are so deliberately painful and emotionally torturing. But the compression can be effective, as in the brutally simple lines describing the fight between Achilles and Hector:

Sweat flows in streams, dread sword grinds upon sword,
foot clings with foot and hand to hand (955–56).

These lines, too, are called **{a hyperbolic display}**.¹⁰³

As with the *Achilleid*, the *Ilias latina* was copied across Europe. Kathryn McKinley summarizes Scaffai's evidence “showing its wide dissemination in the high Middle Ages throughout England, France,

Germany, and Italy.”¹⁰⁴ Robert Black offers evidence of the chronological scope of interaction with the text in Italy: “The oldest instance of interlinear vernacular glossing in [Latin school texts in Italy] is found in a schoolboy copy of the *Ilias latina*, datable to the first half of the thirteenth century,” while a later manuscript demonstrates that the *Ilias latina* “was clearly being used in an important humanist teacher’s school in mid fifteenth-century Florence.”¹⁰⁵

In Germany the *Ilias latina* was copied well into the late fifteenth century, as in Clm 14496, which belonged to the monastery of St. Emmeram.¹⁰⁶ The first folio of the *Ilias latina* in this manuscript is reproduced in [Image 2.6](#). The words in large letters near the top of the image comprise the incipit, or identification of the text: **{Here begins Homer on the Trojan War, which is entitled the *Iliad*}**.¹⁰⁷ Numbers are written over the first five lines of the text (also on fols. 117v and 120r) that rearrange the words in prose order. The marginal comments and interlinear glosses are fairly consistent until they stop abruptly at the bottom of fol. 128v with line 285. Beginning above the title on the image and continuing down the right-hand margin is an *accessus* that, after only a few sentences, launches into a detailed division and subdivision of the “present book,” which refers the first portion of the text rather than the entire *Ilias latina*.¹⁰⁸ Each subsequent “first part” is of a shorter and shorter section, until we arrive back at the invocation in the first eight lines:

Such subdivision is a traditional part of the academic treatments of sophisticated texts, a method of conveying complexity and respect, that appears here to have trickled down to a more elementary one.¹¹²

A much longer version of the same *accessus* accompanies the *Ilias latina* in another late German composite manuscript, Clm 28824, copied in Ingolstadt in 1479; it remained in Ingolstadt in possession of the Franciscans for several centuries.¹¹³ This version of the *accessus*, copied on a separate page preceding the heavily glossed text, provides even more detail in its subdivisions. Here, for example, is just a part of the third cause of the “triple-fold cause of the dispute” between Agamemnon and Achilles:

{The third cause is a terrible detail¹¹⁴ and ultimately disturbing, namely Chryses, priest of Apollo, whose daughter has been taken by Agamemnon, king of the Greeks. As a result he tearfully roused his god to send a pestilence among the Greeks, on account of which pestilence the rash leader Achilles, disturbed, appealing to Agamemnon to restore to the priest his daughter, generated for himself mortal enmity with Agamemnon, as can be seen clearly in the text.}¹¹⁵

After a transitional sentence this *accessus* continues with a version of the *Accessus Homeri* in the famous collection of such introductions first edited by R.B.C. Huygens.¹¹⁶ In the published version of that *accessus*, the usefulness of the text is that {when we have seen the death of the guilty we might fear offending the majesty of the gods as much by a trivial thing as by a [serious] offense}.¹¹⁷ But the version in our manuscript says, {The usefulness is knowledge of the destruction of Troy and that, when we have seen the lamentable death of the most famous kings and princes, we would not offend the majesty of the gods}.¹¹⁸

The revision in Clm 28824 appears to be a deliberate alteration emphasizing the deaths of high-born warriors. This focus on the deaths of kings and princes is reinforced by a list of those slain in the Trojan War in a manuscript containing the *Ilias latina* and the *Achilleid* in the same hand; it was quoted above for its early *partes orationis* gloss on the *Achilleid* (BL Add. 22314). Between explicits to the *Ilias latina* are two short paragraphs summarizing those killed by heroes on each side. The first lists {Who of the Trojans killed whom of the Greeks: Hector killed Protesilaus, Patroclus, Merione}, etc. It continues with those killed by Aeneas and Alexander (Paris) and concludes, {Alexander died in battle, Telemonian Ajax in the camps}.¹¹⁹ The second paragraph lists {Who of the Greeks killed whom of the Trojans} and includes a detail from Dares the Phrygian in whose account Neoptolemus rather than his father Achilles kills

Penthesilea. This paragraph concludes, **{These things Dares committed to writing}**.¹²⁰ A different kind of list of the dead follows the copy of the *Achilleid* in ÖNB Cod. 3114, the collection of school texts copied in 1481 in Leipzig.

After a short, explicit statement that the work is finished, we find bracketed lists of names of those **{Hector killed}**, **{Achilles killed}**, **{and Paris}**. Sentences below identify two kings whom Aeneas killed, and finally there is a short paragraph listing single deaths, with **{Pyrrhus}** (Neoptolemus) again identified as the one who **{killed Penthesilea}**.¹²¹

These lists include deaths that do not occur in the *Ilias latina* (or *Achilleid*). They appear to be based on Dares and are found in other manuscripts of Trojan material.¹²² Thus associated with, but not drawn directly from, the Troy Books themselves, they are reminders that each of these works tells but a part of the story. The lists underscore both the violence toward which Achilles is sailing at the end of the *Achilleid* and the increasing focus on killing scenes in the *Ilias latina*, especially in the second half, where the compression of the Greek original is much more severe. (Books 1–5 of the *Iliad* occupy lines 1–537 of the *Ilias latina*, while the next 19 books of the *Iliad* are covered in only 533 lines.) As the *Ilias latina* progresses, the manner of one's death, the last aspect of the fourth of Cicero's Attributes of Characters, *fortuna* (Fortune), becomes of preeminent importance (*Inv.* 1.25.35). In such a condensed text lacking the longer background information of the *Iliad*, the constant litany of deaths dominates more and more.

The most important death, of course, is Hector's, and it is followed by a succinct but moving version of Priam's plea to Achilles to give back the body of Hector for burial. [Image 2.7](#) shows the elaborate highlighting of a single line of this speech in the copy of the *Ilias latina* in BL Harley 2560 (fol. 23v). An elaborate *manicula* or little hand branches into curved pincers (reflecting the curve of the cuff) highlighting the interlinear glosses as well as the line of verse. In addition, vertically on the cuff out of which the hand emerges is written **{Note!}**.¹²³ Here are the sentiment and the elaborations on it that the hand is pointing to:

“[P]ay heed to **{consider in your mind}** the changing **{fluctuating}** fates
{lots} of **{great}** leaders.¹²⁴

It is typical of the generic, proverbial statements much marked in school manuscripts for their wide applicability in compositions.¹²⁵

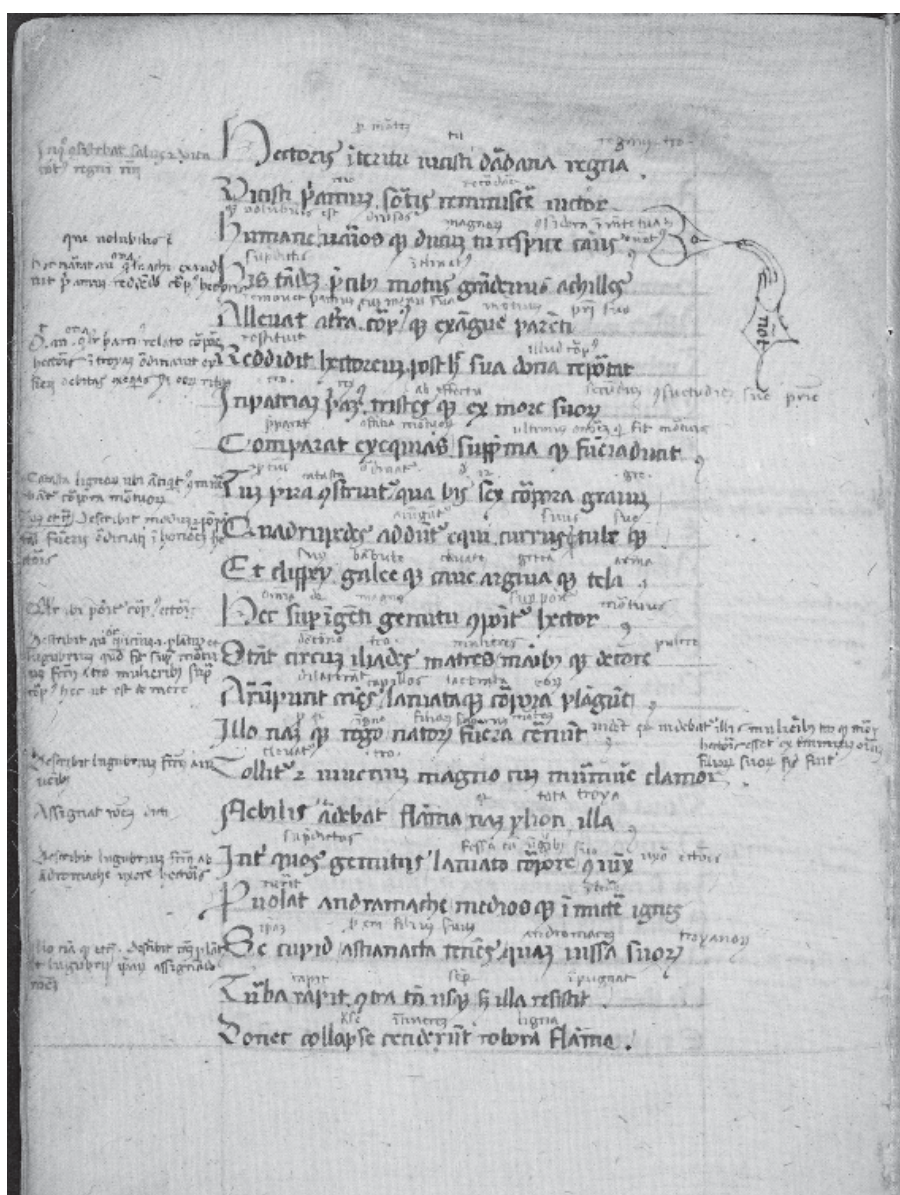
After Hector's body is returned, the last lines on the image (beginning five lines from the bottom) and the first one on the verso side describe Andromache's desperate attempt to throw herself and

her son on her husband's funeral pyre:

Among the lamentations, Hector's wife Andromache
leads the cries and tears her breast and seeks to throw herself
amidst the flames while holding to Astyanax, but the crowd
of countrymen under orders holds her back. She resists
them all until the flicker of the flames dies down
and that greater leader has departed into unsubstantial ash.

(*Ilias* 1057–62)

Andromache's fear and pain echo for centuries, as in a moving lament for Hector written in the margin of an eleventh-century copy of a late-antique prose narrative of Troy.¹²⁶ There Andromache is one of several speakers who call out to Hector earlier in the narrative, before his final battle. A refrain, "Alas, we badly long for you" (*Heu, male te cupimus!*), follows each of the two-line stanzas. Here, in Peter Dronke's translation, she begs Hector "not to confront Achilles":



2.7. © British Library Board Harley 2560 f23v.

“Take care not to engage with him:
he’s surely said to be a goddess’s son.

Alas, we badly long for you!

“Divine Sea-Thetis is his mother—
though (mortal) Peleus be his father,

Alas, we badly long for you!

“He (like his mother) is immune to fear;
fear of him even comes upon wild beasts.

Alas, we badly long for you!

“For the centaur trained him
as his pupil,

Alas, we badly long for you!

“And he has indeed been trained
as we have heard tell:

Alas, we badly long for you!

“He wounds Lapiths when he fights,
he captures lions when he hunts,

Alas, we badly long for you!

“His skin is so hard
that there iron can scarcely hold.

Alas we badly long for you!

“So, my husband, take great care:
do not go there! Now farewell!”

*Alas, we badly long for you!*¹²⁷

To describe Achilles in the scariest way possible, Andromache does not here, as in the famous passage in Book 6 of the *Iliad* itself, list her relatives and loved ones whom Achilles has killed. Rather, she reminds Hector of Achilles’s semidivine parentage, the importance of his mother, his training by Chiron (how as a boy he was already able to fight fierce warriors—even the extinct Lapiths—and capture lions), and the impenetrability of his body. That is, she evokes the Achilles of the *Achilleid*.

Perhaps the Achilles of the *Ilias latina* was a less compelling figure for schoolboys than young Achilles. For them even Hector’s death may have had less impact than the generalized, never-ending pathos of the cumulative loss of lives in battle and the vocabulary of killing and dying that they learned along the way. But keep the image of this mourning Andromache in mind, for the next and last chapter begins with a boy performing the lament of a woman who one of its first modern editors thought was Andromache.

¹ Statius, *Achilleid*, trans. Stanley Lombardo (Hackett: Indianapolis, 2015). This translation is used throughout unless a more literal version is necessary to understand glosses.

² Dante, *Purgatorio*, trans. Stanley Lombardo (New York: Hackett, 2016), p. 102. I am grateful to Rebecca Beal for reminding me of this reference.

³ See, among other sources, Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1970), pp. 102–05; Colette Jeudy and Yves-François Riou, “L’*Achilléide* de Stace au moyen âge: abrégés et arguments,” *Revue d’histoire des textes* 4 (1974): 144–80, here 144; Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), e.g., pp. 190, 217, 225, 228, 331–33, and especially Appendix IV; and Birger Munk Olsen, “La réception de Stace au moyen âge (du IX^e au XII^e siècle), in *Nova de*

vetribus: Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt, ed. Andreas Bihrer and Elisabeth Stein (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2004), pp. 230–46.

⁴ “Cum pueri {achillis} tremefacta quies: oculique iacentis {achillis} / Infusum sensere diem. stupet {achilles}....” (BL Add. 11996, fol. 169r). On this manuscript, see Harald Anderson, *The Manuscripts of Statius*, rev. ed. (Arlington, VA: printed by author, 2009), 1.187–88; here and in the other references to manuscripts of the *Achilleid*, Anderson provides further bibliography.

⁵ “Cum pueri {achillis} tremefacta {est} quies. oculi que iacentis {achillis} / Infusum {sparsim} sensere diem. stupet {miratur}” (BL Add. 17404, fol. 223v). On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.189–90.

⁶ “{expergefacta est}” (BL Add. 22314, fol. 28v). On this manuscript, which also contains a copy of the *Ilias latina* discussed later in this chapter, see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.193; and Marco Scaffai, “Tradizione manoscritta dell’*Ilias Latina*,” in Paulo Serra Zanetti et al., eds., *In verbis verum amare; miscellanea dell’Istituto di filologia latina e medioevale, Università di Bologna* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1980), pp. 205–77, here 230–31. The importance of Anderson’s and Scaffai’s studies to the present work cannot be overestimated.

⁷ {terrore raptus fuit} (Clm 391, fol. 23v); {rapta est} in Paul M. Clogon, ed., *The Medieval Achilleid of Statius* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), p. 49, gloss on line 1.247. On Clm 391 see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.241–42; and Michael Baldzuhn, *Schulbücher im Trivium des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit: Die Verschriftlichung von Unterricht in der Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der “Fabulae” Avians und der deutschen “Disticha Catonis”* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 2.634–36. Clogon’s edition is based on a collation of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1663, with ten other manuscripts and includes a detailed introduction.

⁸ {terroris fuit non securitatis} (Clogon, *Medieval Achilleid*, p. 49, gloss on line 1.248).

⁹ Harald Anderson (email of April 20, 2014); see also Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.XI–XIII.

¹⁰ See Marco Scaffai, ed. and trans., *Ilias latina*, by Baebius Italicus (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1997), p. 15; and George A. Kennedy, ed. and trans. *The Latin Iliad: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes*, by Baebius Italicus (Fort Collins, CO: privately published, 1998), pp. 9–10; a slightly revised edition was published in 2007 by the American Society for Biblical Studies).

¹¹ Scaffai, “Tradizione manoscritta.”

¹² E.g., {Incipit homeri translat<i>o a pindaro quoda<m> in latinum facta} (SSB Diez. B Sant. 4, fol. 169r); some abbreviation marks appear to have been trimmed along with the top of the folio. On this manuscript, see Scaffai, “Tradizione manoscritta,” pp. 259–60; and Baldzuhn, *Schulbücher im Trivium*, 2.454–58.

¹³ In addition to the sources cited above in note 3, see Hugh of Trimberg, *Das “Registrum Multorum Auctorum” des Hugo von Trimberg*, ed. and trans. Karl Longosch (Berlin, 1942; reprint Nedeln: Kraus, 1969), lines 164–67; R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad Auctores* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 6, 25–26; Alastair J. Minnis, trans., “Introductions to the Authors” in *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375*, ed. A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott, with David Wallace (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988; rev. edn. 1991), pp. 16–17; Stephen M. Wheeler, ed. and trans., *Accessus ad auctores: Medieval Introductions to the Authors (Codex latinus monacensis 19475)* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015), pp. 42 and 43; Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogus super auctores*, in Huygens, p. 118, lines 1445–60 and 1486–90, trans. Alastair J. Minnis, “Dialogue on the Authors” in *Medieval Literary Theory*, pp.

60 and 61; Birger Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991), pp. 63–65; Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in 13th-century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 1.67 and 68; Black, *Humanism and Education*, e.g., pp. 173, 180, 225–31, and 242–43; Ralph J. Hexter, “Canonicity,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, ed. Ralph J. Hexter and David Townsend (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 25–44, here 35; Rita Copeland, “The Curricular Classics in the Middle Ages,” in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature, Vol. I (800–1558)*, ed. Rita Copeland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 21–33, here 8, 24, and 25; and Marjorie Curry Woods, “Experiencing the Classics in Medieval Education,” in *The Oxford History*, pp. 35–51, here 39–40 and 49n37.

¹⁴ E.g., manuscripts that I have examined in which all or part of the two texts are found together (sometimes in composite codices) include BL Add. 21213, Add. 22314, and Harley 2560; Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F. 2. 14; ÖNB Cod. 153 and Cod. 267; and HAB Cod. Guelf. Extrav. 301; see also Black, *Humanism and Education*, pp. 228 and 231.

¹⁵ {¶ Auctor huius est homerus ¶ Materia est historia troiana, ab illo loco ubi greci exierunt ab aulide Insula cum suis carinis, usque ad illum locum Vbi achilles Interfecit hector circum civitatem deductum. ¶ Nota quod stacius incepit istam materiam ab illo loco in quo paris rapuit helenam. et achilles ade <m>ptus usque ad hoc quod greci fuerunt in aulide. Vbi actor iste incipit usque ad interfectionem hectoris. Vbi incipit Virgilius in secundo eneidus usque ad destructionem troje etc. Tres hystoriam troie partim tractant omnem ... (SBB Diez. B Sant. 4, fol. 169r).

¹⁶ On the focus of teachers on sexual details, see Ralph Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's Ars Amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum* (Munich: Arbeo Gesellschaft, 1986), pp. 25 and 72; and Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, pp. 60–63.

¹⁷ These Attributes are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

¹⁸ {Materia huius libri gesta sunt achillis. que omnia quidem statius a primeua etate usque ad eius obitum scribere proposuit. sed morte preuentus opus incepit non expleuit} (Lincoln College, Oxford, Lat. 27, fol. 62ra). On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.289–90.

¹⁹ {Causa materialis in hoc libro sunt gesta acchillis dum Iuuenis fuit quia autor premortuus reliquum sue uite non potuit canere} (BL Add. 17404, fol. 220r).

²⁰ Summarized from Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, I.xii. According to Anderson, all but a handful of editions after that of the Aldine Press in 1502 divide it into two, but at line 1.675. It was not until the nineteenth century that our present division at the beginning of the fragmentary Book 2 became standard. See also the commentary by J. B. Hall with A. L. Ritchie and M. J. Edwards, *Thebaid and Achilleid*, by Statius (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 3.206–11.

²¹ {... nota quod quidam considerant quod iste liber diuidatur in duos libros, quidam in tres, quidam in quattuor et quidam in quinque libros sed *** diuido in quinque libros} (BL Harley 2744, fol. 193r). On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.207.

²² {... in primo matris sollicitudinem et causam sollicitudinis describit; in secundo filii absconsionem; in tercio Grecorum inquisitionem; in quarto invencionem; in quinto adducionem ad Troiam} (Clogon, *Medieval Achilleid of Statius*, 22). In BL Add. 10095, fol. 183r, we find a one-line summary of the *Achilleid* by Folchino dei Borfoni: “curat Achileis, celat, petit, inuenit, armat”; on this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.184–85 and 2.32n59. See also

Judy and Riou, "L'*Achilléide* de Stace," pp. 149–52 and 164–76.

²³ {**intendit enim actor Achillis gesta describere**} (BL Add. 10090, fol. 8rb; also HAB Cod. Guelf. 13.10 Aug. 4°, fol. 142r). On the former manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.183; on the latter, Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.470–71, and Baldzuhn, *Schulbücher im Trivium*, 2.810–14.

²⁴ {**Materia huius libri[s] Statii Thetis & achilles. quem usque ad troiam perducit; aliqua gesta eius in sue primordio iuuentutis enumerans: ut in fine libri patet**} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 65 Aug. 2°, fol. 1r). This printed fragment is bound in a manuscript with scientific items. On this manuscript and its source, see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.471.

²⁵ {... **describere uirtutes achillis nutriti a chirone**} (Clm 391, fol. 18v).

²⁶ {**Principalis autem materia huius libri est thetis et Achilles. Secundaria vero dyomedes et vlixes**} (Clm 391, fol. 18v).

²⁷ Cf. P. J. Heslin, *Transvestite Achilles: Gender and Genre in Statius' Achilleid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 129: "Achilles has received an upbringing that is excessively dominated by his mother."

²⁸ {**Materia stacii est in hoc opere suo thetis et achilles. Intensio sua est metrice describere / qualiter achilles fuit nutritus a chirone in pelion monte / et qualiter latuit in chiro [sic] insula in aula lycomedis in habitu muliebri et qualiter ductus fuit ad troianum bellum cum dulichia tuba**} (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Zan. lat. 541, fol. 1r). On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.454–55.

²⁹ These characteristics were later condensed and referred to as the circumstances (*circumstantiae*); for examples and bibliography see Martin Camargo, "Latin Composition Textbooks and *Ad Herennium* Glossing: The Missing Link?" in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Modern Commentary Tradition*, ed. Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 267–288, here 277–80. The related category of *proprietas* in Horace's *Art of Poetry*, so important during the Middle Ages, describes how one should present known characters on the stage. One of these is Achilles, based on his portrayal as an adult in the *Iliad*: "let him be impatient, passionate, ruthless, fierce; let him claim that laws are not for him, let him ever make appeal to the sword" (AP 121–22 in Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and Ars poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926, rpt. 1966]).

³⁰ See references and manuscript citations in Marjorie Curry Woods, "The Classroom as Courtroom: Cicero's Attributes of Persons and the Interpretation of Classical Literary Characters in the Renaissance," *Ciceroniana: Atti del XIII Colloquium Tullianum, Milano, 27–29 marzo 2008* (Rome: Centro di Studi Ciceroniani, 2009), pp. 203–15, here 207–10.

³¹ See the complete list in "Abbreviations, Sigla, and Rhetorical Terms."

³² The English translation is taken from Cicero, *De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949, rpt. 1968); Hubbell uses the translation "attributes of persons" instead of "attributes of characters." The Latin text is taken from Cicero, *De inventione*, ed. E. Stroebe (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915): "in victu considerare oportet, apud quem et quo more et cuius arbitratu sit educatus, quos habuerit artium liberalium magistros, quos vivendi praeceptores...."

³³ On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.465–33 and 3.103–04; also, Franz Unterkircher, *Die Datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek von 1451 bis 1500* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), 1.64 and 2.326 (Image 474).

³⁴ {Intencio Stacy [=Stacii] in hoc libro est ergo ut describendo puericiam Achillis qualiter nutritus sit in puericia intendit nos docere puerilem erudicionem et qualiter pueri sunt nutriendi ut postmodum fiant virtuosi et robusti. Materia eius est thetis et achilles. Vtilitas huius libri est ut cognito qualiter achilles nutritus fuit qui postea fortissimus grecorum fuit sciamus et nos simili modo pueros nutrire et erudire} (ÖNB Cod. 3114, fol. 110r).

³⁵

{Laphite dicebantur
centauri bi
menbres.
multum
bellico
Si}

(Lincoln College, Oxford, Lat. 27, fol. 63v). On this manuscript see Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1982) 2.547; and Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.289–90.

³⁶ With the gloss {¶ **confutat**} this line is identified as a “confutatio,” one of the “partes orationis,” in HAB Cod. Guelf 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 122v; on this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.472–73. For another example of the medieval interpretation of “confutatio” as a change in direction of a rhetorical argument, see Marjorie Curry Woods, “Rhetoric, Gender, and the Literary Arts,” *New Medieval Literatures* 11 (2009): 113–32, here 130.

³⁷ {Incipit secundus liber Achilleidos in prima parte continetur sollicitudo thetidis de filii sui scilicet Achilles <abs> consione de predestinata eius morte. de mortis illius vicinitate de bello instanti Europe <et> asie. et hoc est in morte materna solitudinis origo. postea uero subiungitur matris eiusdem deliberatio qualiter secum de nocte Cogitaret et dubitaretur ut filium suum Achillem. ne profi<cis>ceretur ad violenciam. occultaret. Cum tunc nox in sompnos traxit chironem et achillem thetis uero non poterat dormire propter sollicitudines ...} (Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. class. e. 47, fol. 13v). On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.286.

³⁸ {ponit uerba thetidis ad filium scilicet achillem et primo exorditur / secundo narat [sic] / tercio confirmat / quarto confutat quinto concludit} (BL Add. 22314, fol. 28v). See also Jeudy and Riou, “*L’Achilléide* de Stace,” p. 179 on p. 173.

³⁹ See “Abbreviations, Sigla, and Rhetorical Terms.” For the *partes* in classical rhetoric, see Lucia Calboli Montefusco, “La funzione della ‘partitio’ nel discorso oratio,” in A. Pennacini, ed., *Studi di retorica oggi in Italia* (Bologna: Pitagora Editrice, 1987), pp. 69–85; and Lucia Calboli Montefusco, *Exordium Narratio Epilogus: Studi sulla teoria retorica greca e romana delle parti del discorso* (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1988); also Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, trans. Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, David E. Orton, and eds. David E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

⁴⁰ See also Black, *Humanism and Education*, pp. 308–09.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the *partes orationis* applied to several speeches by both men and women in the *Aeneid* as well as the *Achilleid* in other manuscripts, see Woods, “Rhetoric, Gender,” pp. 124–31.

⁴² Cf. Heslin, *Transvestite Achilles*: “Thetis needs to project a conception of gender that is fixed and constant in order to win her point that Achilles’ prospective

violation of gender norms poses no threat to his sex,” p. 124.

⁴³ {Intensio sua est metrice describere ... qualiter latuit in chiro insula in aula lycomedis in habitu muliebri ...} (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Zan. lat. 541, fol. 1r).

⁴⁴ “ut virtutis aut artis alicuius perceptionem aut quamvis scientiam et item corporis aliquam commoditatem non natura datam, sed studio et industria partam” (Inv. 1.25.36). See Rita Copeland on Cicero’s emphasis on the temporal duration and perfection of *habitus* in contrast to the sudden and temporary nature of the following Attribute of Character, *affectio*, translated by Hubbell as “feeling” but more akin to emotion, a distinction elaborated in medieval commentaries on the terms. (“*Affectio* in the Tradition of the *De inventione*: Philosophy and Pragmatism,” in *Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo*, eds. Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola [Turnhout: Brepols, 2015], pp. 3–20).

⁴⁵ “abitus {uestes} ... meos {muliebres}” (BL Harley 2560, fol. 30r; and ÖNB Cod. 13685, fol. 8v). On the *Achilleid* in BL Harley 2560, which also contains a copy of the *Ilias latina* discussed below, see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.200–01. On ÖNB Cod. 13685, see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.467–68 (with extensive bibliography) and 3.81–83; also Unterkircher, *Datierten Handschriften*, 1.176–77, 2.304 (Image 435), and 2.316 (Image 456).

⁴⁶ {Si lidia hercules induit uestes yoles illius uirginis Bachus et induit longissimum pallium in sacrificiis. Iuppiter etiam concubuit cum calixtone in specie dyane. Ceneis passa stuprum neptuni mutata est in virum} (Clm 391, fol. 24r). More extensive glosses are provided in other manuscripts, especially very late ones; cf. ÖNB Cod. 13685, fol. 8v.

⁴⁷ {magister tuus} (Clm 391, fol. 24r).

⁴⁸ {Tres cause fuerunt quare achilles recusabat habitus muliebres. Primo quia pater suus peleus fuit miles comba <tan> s [combas MS]. Secunda quia timebat de magistro suo. Tercia quod timebat denigrare <faciem suam> [facie sue MS]} (Clm 391, fol. 24r).

⁴⁹ Craig A. Gibson has translated all of Libanius’s progymnasmata, or preliminary school exercises, including this example of ethopoeia in *Libanius’s Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008). For more on ethopoeia see [Chapter 3](#).

⁵⁰ *Libanius’s Progymnasmata*, pp. 393, 14.1 and 394, 14.7.

⁵¹ *Libanius’s Progymnasmata*, p. 395, 14.8.

⁵² {et eam de sui corporis et habitus formositate commendat. Ad cuius formam amoris flammis incaluisse dicit Achillem} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 124r).

⁵³ {Comparatio dicit quod diadamia tantum superat sorores in pulcritudine quantum uenus superat alias dias quando stat in pelago cum ipsis seu quantum diana sup <er>at naiadas} (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30, fol. 151v). On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.360–61.

⁵⁴ A more obvious abbreviation for *comparatio* is used at the top of [Image 1.2](#) at Aen. 4.300–03 (Lombardo 4.338–42).

⁵⁵ Inv. 1.24.36. Compare Pierre Bourdieu’s influential concept of *habitus*, which resonates with but is very different from Cicero’s, in *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), especially pp. 78–95.

⁵⁶ {Subsequenter describit qualiter thetis ad motus et mores femineos rudem instruxit puerum ...} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 124r).

⁵⁷ {sororem et filiam meam} (BL Harley 2560, fol. 32r).

⁵⁸ {quantum capitulum} (BL Harley 2560, fol. 32r).

⁵⁹ See “Abbreviations, Sigla, and Rhetorical Terms.”

⁶⁰ This is the last line on the image.

⁶¹ {exorditur} {parentesis} {Narrat} {Confutatio} {petit} {confirmat
concludendo} (BL Harley 2560, fols. 32r–v).

⁶² “stirpe virile” {pro achille uiro et filio meo} and “hec” {Achilla}, with {ipsa Achilla} also found four lines above over “petebat” (BL Harley 2560, fol. 32r).

⁶³ {Diuinat hic Calcas. Et achillis latentis latebras aperit, ad quem
Dyomedes et ulixes concorditer diriguntur} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 128r, on *Ach.* 514; Lombardo 1.576).

⁶⁴ On HAB Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4° see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.475–76. On sexual details see the references above in note 16.

⁶⁵ The manuscript has “veros” for “versos” (altered); this reading changes the point of the gloss, which probably comes from a manuscript with “versos.”

⁶⁶ Sic {tali modo} sub matre {sua} rea {existens} iuuenis regnator olimpi
{¶ Sic sicut achilles osculabatur deidamiam}

Oscula secure dabat insidiosa sorori

{¶ secure quia non timebat fidem uiolari a fratre eius}

Frater adhuc medii {existens} donec reuerentia {re}cessit {donec
concubuit cum ipsa}

Sanguinis et veros {et donec coniugales} germana {iuno} expauit amores.

{¶ Veros amores dicit quia amor naturalis uersus est In amorem
libidinis}.

(HAB Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°, fol. 63v)

On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.475–76. I have not quoted all the glosses on this passage.

⁶⁷ {¶ Iste patroclus nutritus in domo chironis et socius achillis et postea
factus est armigerus achillis} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°, fol. 64v).

⁶⁸ {subaudi / tu sic facis o patrocle uirilia. At ego feminea} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 130r).

⁶⁹ See Woods, “Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric of Sexual Violence,” *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copeland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 56–86, on this theme in medieval school texts.

⁷⁰ “U” {uiolencia} (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30, fol. 156r; also Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°, fol. 64v).

⁷¹ “toto pectore” {idest tota uoluntate} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°, fol. 64v); “ueros” {non fictos ut prius cum obstendebat se esse feminam} (Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30, fol. 156r).

⁷² {Achilles Violat deidamiam} (BL Add. 17404, fol. 229v).

⁷³ {uirginis} {propter pudorem} (Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30, fol. 156r).

⁷⁴ {quod dicit luna uerecundata est propter talem coitum quia dea est
castitatis} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 130r).

⁷⁵ Vi potitur uotis {coitu}, et toto pectore {notat conatum} ueros {notat
concubitus}

Admouet {adhibet} amplexus. Risit {propter coitum}....

(Lincoln College, Oxford, Lat. 27, fol. 75r)

{¶ Miror sapientem uirum et
 literatissimum poetam adeo
 uili turpiloquio et inepto
 mendacio uelle
 placere hominibus ut
 diceret astra
 ridere et lunam
 uerecundari
 propter
 stu
 prum}

(Lincoln College, Oxford, Lat. 27, fol. 75r)

77 {idest coitibus furtiue factis} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°, fol. 65r).

78 ... nusquam {sunt} mandata {sue} parentis,

{idest non reducit ad memoriam mandata parentis sue, scilicet
 quod non manifestaret se esse uirum}

Nusquam {erat} occultus {deidamie} amor, totoque {desiderio} in
 pectore Troia {idest bellum troianum} est.

{¶ Nusquam occultus occultus amor deidamie non reducit ad
 memoriam ab achille.}

(Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4o, fol. 69r)

79 On the neuming of Dido’s laments in manuscripts of the *Aeneid*, see [Chapter 1](#).
 On HAB Cod. Guelf. 301 Extrav., see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.472.

80 {¶ idest concede mihi quod non concumbes cum troiana muliere} (HAB
 Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°, fol. 71r).

81 {... quia mortuus est apud troiam. Et ita uerba sua carebant effectum}
 (HAB Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°, fol. 71r).

82 {Et nota quod in hoc libro utitur artificiali ordine. Nam due sunt ordines
 <sicut> [sunt MS] scribendi Videlicet artificialis et naturalis. Naturalis est
 cum eo ordine historia quo facta est vt in statio thebaidos Et in sedulio.
 Artificialis ordo est quando ea qui scribi primo deberent ad tempus
 differuntur et deynde apte introducuntur Vt in eneide Et in hoc libro. Nam in
 hoc libro primo describitur quomodo Achilles a matre deliberato consilio
 translatus timore troiani belli in chiros insula in aula licomedis Postea
 infertur. Aptē et competenter adduntur [sic] de infantia ipsius achillis ipso
 per ordinem referente vlixi et sociis suis uirtutes et facta sue infantie} (HAB
 Cod. Guelf. 292.2 Gud. lat. 8°, fol. 6r). On this manuscript see Anderson, *Manuscripts
 of Statius*, 1.476.

83 Cf. Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, in *Les Arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e
 siècle*, ed. Edmond Faral (Paris: É. Champion, 1924), pp. 197–262, here lines 101–03
 and 112–17; *The Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*, trans. Margaret F. Nims, rev.
 Martin Camargo (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2010), p. 22.

84 Other drawings in this manuscript are discussed in [Chapter 1](#).

85 {In hoc loco alloquitur Ulixes Achillem quem uidebat amori
 succumbere} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 134v).

86 {succinte} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 134v).

⁸⁷ HAB Cod. Guelf. 301 Extrav., fol. 44v.

⁸⁸ {¶ **Ambiguus an dicat an taceat de se**} (HAB Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 135r).

⁸⁹ While Achilles in women's clothes, taking up arms, is a beloved subject of post-medieval painters, I have not come across it visually depicted in the manuscripts I've examined, including the sketches of BL Harley 2744. Illustrations and illuminations are rare in manuscripts of school texts, but for additional manuscripts of the *Achilleid* that do contain "Historiating Decorations," see Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 2.153.

⁹⁰ On SBB Ham. 608, see Jeudy and Riou, "L'Achilléide de Stace," p. 155 and Image XI of fol. 20v; Helmut Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), pp. 290–91; and Anderson, *Manuscripts of Statius*, 1.25. Jeudy and Riou identify him as Achilles, while Anderson is hesitant. Because of the grey hairs in the knight's beard, however, the knight would have to be an older character, perhaps Ulysses or Diomedes, or simply a generic mature warrior.

⁹¹ Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, 1.67.

⁹² Kennedy's translation in *The Latin Iliad* is used here, sometimes silently emended because of different readings in a manuscript or so that the glosses make sense. See also the translation by Kathryn L. McKinley in "The Medieval Homer: The *Ilias Latina*," *Allegorica* 19 (1998): 3–61, which I used as the basis for my discussion of this text in "Experiencing the Classics," 39–44 and 48–51.

⁹³ On the *Ilias latina* in BL Harley 2560 see Scaffai, "Tradizione manoscritta," p. 265. [Image 2.3](#) is a page from the copy of the *Achilleid* in this manuscript.

⁹⁴ It is tempting to translate "gremio" with a more sexually explicit term.

⁹⁵ Venisti mea flamma {amor} {o} paris superatus ab armis

Coniugis {menelay [= -i]} antiqui uidi {ego et elena} puduitque {me} uidere {te}

Arreptum traheret cum {quando} te uiolentus {depredator} atrides {menelaus}....

Nostraque me miseram {infortunatam} timui ne doricus {grecus} ensis {menelay}

Oscula {nostrum amorem} diuideret {seperaret}....

{Ponitur responsio paridis ad helenam}

Tristis {melanconicus} alexander {paris} non me {paridem} superauit {uicit} atrides {menelaus filius atrey},

O meus ardor {amor} ait sed caute palladis {dee} ira {indignatio contra me}.

Mox {subito} illum {menelaum} nostris succumbere turpiter {uituperose} armis

Aspicias {uidebis tu elena} aderitque meo citarea {Venus} labori.

{Quid egit paridis dictis verbis}

Post hec {uerba supradicta} amplexus per mutua {alternatim} corpora iunctis

Incubuit {supra stetit} membris cineidos {elene}; illa {elena} soluto {Nota quod iupiter concubuit c <um> leda in specie Cigni ex qua orta fuerunt duo oua quorum ex uno orti fuerunt Castor et polux Ex altero Helena <et> clitemestra.}

Accepit {recepit} flamas {paridem} gremio {suo} troieque suasque.

The final letters of some glosses have been cut off, presumably in rebinding.

⁹⁶ Scaffai, ed., *Ilias latina*, p. 271 on lines 325–26 and p. 273 on lines 336–38.

⁹⁷ On this manuscript see Scaffai, “Tradizione manoscritta,” 218–19; and Woods, “Experiencing the Classics,” 42–43 and 50–51 (with additional references).

⁹⁸ {atrides est patronomicum nomen, idest filius atrei, sicut est priamides, et eneades, et his similia} (Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. G. 57, fol. 6r).

⁹⁹ {Poeta inuocat nimpham idest deam aquarum. Gentiles enim credebant ab aqua scientiam ascendere ad cor hominis per nouem musas, quasi per fistulas, ex quibus est una calliope quae preest poetriae} (Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. G. 57, fol. 6r). The lines above the text identify the work.

¹⁰⁰ {hic autor ponit qualiter crises post multos fletus iuit ad agamemnon ipsum rogitans <ut reddat> [ac reddent *MS*] sibi filiam suam} (BL Harley 2560, fol. 1r).

¹⁰¹ {...tunc actum describit per comparationem} (BL Harley 2560, fol. 9v referring to the simile on fol. 10r). Kennedy notes that, although the *Ilias latina* is a ruthless abbreviation of the *Iliad*, Baebius does invent some images and speeches that typically generate a simple kind of pathos, as here (e.g., pp. 11–13, 55n49, and 56n52).

¹⁰² {yperbolica locati<o> [locatis *MS*]} {ponitur restauratio belli per alios actus ex utraque parte troianorum et grecorum ...} (BL Harley 2560, fol. 11r); for the emendation see the next gloss quoted.

¹⁰³ {yperbolica locatio} (BL Harley 2560, fol. 21v).

¹⁰⁴ McKinley, “The Medieval Homer,” p. 3, summarizing Scaffai, “Tradizione manoscritta,” pp. 36–34; McKinley cites medieval references to the work on pp. 3–4. For the textual transmission of the text through the twelfth century, see P. K. Marshall, “*Ilias latina*,” in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 191–94. In *Schulbücher im Trivium*, Baldzuhn describes a number of manuscripts containing the *Ilias latina*, there called “Homerus latinus.”

¹⁰⁵ Black, *Humanism and Education*, pp. 276–77, 235. See his detailed references to the teaching of the *Ilias latina* based on manuscripts in Florentine libraries, *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ On Clm 14496, see Scaffai, “Tradizione manoscritta,” pp. 266–67; and *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften von St. Emmeram in Regensburg Clm 14401–14540*, eds. Friedrich Helmer, Julia Knödler, and Günter Glauche (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), pp. 318–21.

¹⁰⁷ {De bello troyano Homerus Incipit. qui yliades Intitulatur} (Clm 14496, fol. 117r).

¹⁰⁸ Book 1 in this *accessus* appears to be a longer Book 1 than that identified in some earlier manuscripts, in which Book 1 ends at line 110 (Scaffai, “Tradizione manoscritta,” p. 247, and as marked in Kennedy’s edition and translation). For a discussion of book division in two early English manuscripts of the *Ilias latina*, see Woods, “Experiencing the Classics,” pp. 43 and 51.

¹⁰⁹ This *accessus* in both this manuscript and the one described next has {attonitos}, an accusative plural form referring to those Agamemnon called together, rather than the nominative singular {attonitus} referring to Agamemnon’s own astonishment at the dream Jupiter has sent him.

¹¹⁰ {interpretatur} is nondeponent here; cf. J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis*

lexicon (Leiden: Brill, 1976; reprint 1997), s.v. “interpretare.”

111 {Homerus grecorum poetarum peritissimus hoc opus in greco compilauit quod pindarus in latinum transtulit et Inscribitur liber Iliades uel hystoria Iliaca homeri a quodam castro Ylion quod magni priami regis appellatur, quia tractat de bello troyano. Presens autem liber in tres partes diuiditur. In prima ponit commocionem achillis contra agamenonem. 2o ponit missionem som<ni>orum [sominorum MS]. 3° ostendit quomodo agamenon princeps grecos contra troyanos conuocauit Ibi conuocat attonitos etc. Prima pars conueni<enter> [conuenit MS] In duas diuiditur partes quia prima ponit causas litis inter agamenonem et achillem, 2° ostendit quomodo lis inter illos orta sit. Prima pars adhuc In duas diuiditur quia primo Inuocat caliope deam homeri. 2° ponit triplex causam litis ibi quis deus etc. Unde a principio homerus inuocat musam caliope que interpretatur dea bene scribens uel referens etc} (Clm 14496, fol. 117r).

112 On such subdivision see Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, pp. 120–28.

113 On Clm 28824, see Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften des Kaiserlichen Bayerische Nationalmuseums zu München* (Munich: Königliche Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1916), pp. 32–39; Karin Schneider, “Handschriften aus dem Bayerischen Nationalmuseum jetzt in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München und in der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg” (*Scriptorium* 22 [1968]: 314–23, here 317); and Scaffai, “Tradizione manoscritta,” p. 267.

114 Cf. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon*, s.v. “particularis.”

115 {3a causa est infima particularis et mouens tandem scilicet Crises sacerdos phebi. Cui pars rapta est filia eius ab agamenone rege grecorum. Ideo lacrimis deum suum commouit ut inter grecos pestilenciam mitteret propter quam pestilenciam strenuus dux achilles commotus compellans agamenonem ut filiam sacerdoti restitueret mortalem inimicitiam cum agamenone sibi peperit ut lucide patet in textu ...} (Clm 28824, fol. 154v).

116 Huygens, ed., *Accessus ad Auctores*, pp. 25–26; and Wheeler, *Accessus ad auctores*, pp. 42–43.

117 {uiso interitu reorum superum maiestatem tam leui quam delicto timeamus offendere} (Wheeler, *Accessus ad Auctores*, pp. 42–43).

118 {Vtilitas est troyani excidy (= excidii) cognitio et ut viso tum lamentabili illustrissiorum regum et principium interitu superum maiestatem non offendamus} (Clm 28824, fol. 154v).

119 {Qvi troianorum quem grecorum occiderunt / hector protesilaum. patroclum [uel] merionem.... Allexander in prelio moritur. Ajax thelamonius in chastris} (BL Add. 22314, fol. 23r).

120 {Qui grecorum quem troianorum occiderunt.... Hec dares mandauit literis} (BL Add. 22314, fol. 23v).

121 {Hector interfecit}, {Achilles Interfecit}, {Paris autem}, {Pirus interfecit pantasileam ...} (ÖNB Cod. 3114, fol. 129v).

122 E.g., BL Add. 15477, fol. 58ra–b.

123 {nota} in BL Harley 2560, fol. 23v.

124 “... uarios {diuersos} que ducum {magnorum} tu respice {considera in mente tua [m]} ca<s>us [caus MS] {euentus}.”

(BL Harley 2560, fol. 23v; *Ilias* 1042)

125 Two smaller *maniculæ* (with a less elaborate {nota}) occur on fol. 2r, marking lines 78–79, “If chaste Pallas had not held back Achilles with her hand / blind love would have left a shameful fame forever”; and on fol. 6v (without a

“nota”), at line 263, “This is the time to show your grit.”

¹²⁶ Peter Dronke, “Hector in Eleventh-Century Latin Lyrics,” in *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, ed. Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), pp. 137–48; on this poem, 138–45.

¹²⁷ Dronke, “Hector,” p. 139, lines 13–36, ellipses expanded.

CHAPTER 3

Boys performing women (and men)

The Classics and After

In this final chapter we begin as before with a boy, an anonymous singer in one of the most moving of all medieval Latin lyrics. The boy's performance is so powerful that, in the words of the lyric's author, Marbod of Rennes (born ca. 1035 near Angers, died 1123), "it becomes reality, not a song."¹ Marbod was a renowned schoolmaster in Angers for many years; later he was made Bishop of Rennes. He is known for a life of St. Thais and treatises on the Figures of Words (*De ornamentis verborum*) and on stones (*Liber de lapidibus*), and he was a member of the flourishing Loire Valley group of poets. He is gaining fame for a series of lyrics that describe physical attraction to both men and women that were not widely known until the twentieth century, when André Wilmart discovered what he thought was an unedited poem among a number of other lyrics by Marbod in a manuscript in Berlin (SBB Phill. 1992, fol. 81ra-b).² The late Gerald Bond, for whom Marbod was "surely the most unjustly ignored theorist and poet of the entire Latin Middle Ages,"³ first introduced this poem to me many years ago when we were colleagues; I have been thinking about it ever since.⁴ With some slight changes I cite below Bond's translation in *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France*.⁵

The poem, thirty lines long, falls into three parts. The first describes the narrator's emotional state and the boy who will try to distract him, whose beauty and musical ability almost match that of Apollo. Then comes the description of the boy's performance of the lament, which is artificial in a positive sense: full of the rhetorical devices of repetition, *occultatio* (which he and other medieval rhetoricians called *occupatio*)⁶, asyndeton, and parallelism, all of which contribute to our visualization of the boy's communication of pain and suffering. They remind us that the author was a renowned teacher of rhetoric. At the end we return to the narrator, for whom, in the last line, "welcome recreation [has become] unwelcome torment."⁷

Lines 1–7 introduce the troubled narrator, the beautiful boy singer, and the subject of his lament: a weeping woman cradling the head of a dead warrior.

I usually take my recreation to the sound of the harp,
banishing world-weariness whenever I want.⁸
My citharist is not the Cytherean boy (*puer*) himself,
But this boy (*puer*) is not far from that Cytherean god
Whose sweet melody surpasses the heavens in its subtlety.
This one (*hic*) sings a song about a certain hapless knight
Whose lover (*amica*) mourns because fate has snatched him from her.⁹

So far the gender distinction between boy and woman is clear (words added in parentheses specify gendered terms in the Latin).¹⁰

The next eighteen lines, however, describe the performance without any gender-specific words identifying the actors. It is impossible to convey the genderless result in English. Below I have bolded and put in curved brackets the feminine markers that Bond has added in his translation. This treatment makes these added words look like the interlinear glosses discussed elsewhere in this study, and their relationship to the Latin version of the text is similar. (In fact, they resemble some of the manuscript glosses on a description of another anonymous pair of unnamed lovers in the *Poetria nova* by the medieval rhetorician Geoffrey of Vinsauf.¹¹) Try replacing them with masculine pronouns to see how much the gender specificity demanded in English shapes our interpretation. The verbs are in present tense, and they show us what the boy makes the listener see:

As **{she}** mourns, **{her}** every word wounds my mind;
The sounds played on the harp fill the whole hall with laments,
To the harp's complaint my heart becomes sad, sorrowful.
The **{girl}** prepares to raise the limbs of him lying on the ground,
now pale, now without breath, pierced with a wide-tipped lance.
With arms stretched out about to embrace the body, **{she}** falls
in the midst of **{her}** effort and becomes senseless, sightless;
reviving almost instantly, **{she}** scratches **{her}** face with bloody fingernails.
{She} pines away on the ground, saying things I do not want to relate.
It is terrible to recount the causes of **{her}** grievous lament:
mouth, eyes, face, buried now in icy death;
{she} commits each to memory (they are not as **{she}** knew them),
giving him an outpour of kisses (but not as **{she}** did recently).
Recollect what **{she}** says as **{she}** dries the blood from his wounds!
Recollect what **{she}** recalls as **{she}** gazes at his face!¹²

Then suddenly, in the third and final part (lines 23–30), we are back with the narrator and gendered terms:

These things the boy (*puer*) portrays so that it becomes reality, not a song;¹³
as he plays, the intertwining of lute and voice
imitates more than passably the girl's (*Virginis*) embrace.
My changing heart moves through various emotions
And I seem to undergo whatever I hear from the harpist.
Thus care replaces play for me.
As it pains me, everything changes around,
for the welcome recreation becomes unwelcome torment.¹⁴

In presenting what he thought was a newly discovered poem by Marbod, André Wilmart suggests that, although the characters are not identified, to any educated reader this poem clearly depicts Andromache with the body of Hector.¹⁵ Dismissing Wilmart's suggestion, Peter Dronke hints at a different identification of the lovers: "A knight, mortally wounded by a spear, is found dead by his beloved, who dies upon his body in a grief which is almost a climax of sexual passion in the same moment as it seems to mock that passion's living fulfilment. It would be tempting to try to catch an echo here of Tristan's death."¹⁶ Hennig Brinkmann offers Thisbe mourning Pyramis.¹⁷ C. Stephen Jaeger, in contrast, categorically dismisses all such identifications.¹⁸ When I arrived in Berlin in the fall of 2014, the manuscript of the poem was the first item I examined at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, but there are no medieval rubrics, titles, glosses, or comments.¹⁹

The reference to Apollo in the first lines does generate a classical frisson, however, and I have come to believe it is the circumstances in which one reads the poem that determine (or leave open) the identity of the pair. I had always "seen" them as the unidentified medieval knight and lady championed by Jaeger and Bond.²⁰ But while I was transcribing the lament by Andromache with which the previous chapter ends, I suddenly realized that I was visualizing her words performed by Marbod's beautiful boy, for the combination of emotional power and indeterminacy of gender in Marbod's poem opens it to association with other examples of what Dronke calls "tragic love-longing."²¹ While this phrase comes from Dronke's description of Andromache's pleading with Hector, it is also an apt description of the woman's lament in Marbod's poem—and of the emotions of the other mourning women whom scholars have seen in it as well.

In *What We See When We Read*, Peter Mendelsund articulates how compulsive and precarious is our generating of visual pictures of texts.²² Visualization is, of course, even stronger when we *hear* texts, as was more often the case in medieval classrooms. The variety of reactions of modern scholars to Marbod's poem combined with the carefully *unarticulated* gender of the performer in the middle section

suggest that here we are invited to visualize without constraint or an imposed specificity. As Jaeger points out, Marbod describes the dead knight as *quidam miles*, a term that “suggests that he wanted ‘any’ knight.”²³ But rather than limiting this phrase as Jaeger suggests, it can also invite us to see whatever dead soldier is uppermost in our emotional memories.

Marbod’s boy singer has almost preternaturally professional performance skills far beyond the abilities of most schoolboys. Yet we have seen how commentators focusing on teaching Latin draw particular attention to emotional passages, often speeches by women, in school texts. Boys learned to recite and express themselves in an acquired language by temporarily acquiring the emotions of characters, often female characters. They learned to interpret and perform characters in ways appropriate to each. At Horace’s description of how Achilles should be characterized (*Ars poetica* line 121), the fourteenth-century *Communiter* commentary states, **{Here he shows how rhetorical delivery ought to make distinctions according to the distinguishing aspects of characters}.²⁴**

The setting to music via neuming and the performing in monastic schools of specific laments by Dido as part of learning the *Aeneid* discussed in the first chapter were contemporary with Marbod; they underscore the association of learning Latin with the performance of emotions, often female emotions, on which many medieval teachers relied. Medieval school manuscripts—indeed almost all medieval manuscripts to some extent—are scripts, that is, meant to be performed aloud.²⁵ The emotions and hence the texts are remembered in the body as well as the mind.²⁶

I do not mean to imply that medieval schoolboys performed full-blown dramatizations. Such performances have been suggested for the medieval pseudo-classical plays, some including narration, that have been referred to since the 1930s as “elegiac comedies” (more on these below). I suggest instead that these and other school texts were internalized and then embodied by boys in recitation performances using at least tone of voice and rudimentary gesture: what Klementyna Aura Glińska reminds us that medieval theorists call a “poetical and rhetorical performance.”²⁷ Glosses on the manuscripts of the “comedies” align them with the practices that we have been examining in the glosses on classical texts:

Numerous manuscripts of ‘comedies’ contain commentary, sometimes in the form of graphical markers or ‘*nota bene*’, but primarily consisting of marginal and interlinear glosses which serve to indicate synonyms, summarise or explain certain episodes, as well as identifying the characters and giving brief information concerning the addressee and the content of an utterance, or characterising the situation as a whole.²⁸

Glińska proposes “recitation accompanied by gestures and mimic[ry]” as the most likely form of classroom presentation.²⁹

Martin Camargo’s important series of essays on the performance of exemplary passages in medieval rhetorical treatises offers evidence of similar kinds of performances.³⁰ He describes participating in a modern staged performance of

model letters, exchanged by sisters [debating a young woman’s right to choose a husband with sex appeal], from a textbook composed at Oxford early in the fifteenth century (*Regina sedens Rhetorica*). If ... the textbook was written by a Benedictine monk, it is very likely that the roles of the two sisters initially would have been played by adolescent males who also were novice monks.³¹

He concludes: “[W]hat surprised me most was how well the mannered language of the letters worked in oral performance.... [T]he very artificiality of the language made it easier to adopt a persona and afforded many opportunities for dramatically heightened delivery.”³²

The preceding chapters have suggested how both classical and medieval rhetorical treatises can help us read classical texts from the perspective of the medieval classroom. In concert with the interlinear glosses that were the backbone of medieval teaching, they offer terminology and frameworks that provide insight into how the works that are the focus of this study may have been not only interpreted but also performed in the classroom.

The only explicit instructions for reciting specific speeches that I have found are located in a long gloss on a late manuscript of the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Image 3.1). The gloss, which quotes two of Dido’s speeches in full, is written in the margins across the opening at folios 81v-82r of ÖNB Cod. 3147, copied in Vienna in 1469;³³ the left-hand side of the opening is reproduced in the image. In this section of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the author discusses the three basic Tones of Voice applicable to speeches: the Conversational Tone (*sermo*), the Tone of Debate (*contentio*), and the Tone of Amplification (*amplificatio*) (*Rhet. Her.* 3.12.21–13.24). There are two Tones of Amplification: “The Hortatory, by amplifying some fault, incites the hearer to indignation. The Pathetic, by amplifying misfortunes, wins the hearer over to pity” (3.13.24).³⁴ The glossator associates each with one of Dido’s two speeches after she hears that Aeneas will leave her. In the first paragraph of the gloss beginning below the text, he launches without any introduction or identification into Dido’s complete first speech to Aeneas, beginning with the four lines analyzed in detail in the “[Short Introduction](#).” Then, after quoting the entire speech, he adds at the end of the paragraph, **{This speech is for the Pathetic Tone; it does not lack catching of the**

81v

[illegible]

Were playing in my hall to help me remember you,
I wouldn't feel so completely used and abandoned."

(*Aen.* 4.327–30; Lombardo 4.371–74)

In the manuscript of the *Aeneid* and *Achilleid* with character sketches, a drawing of what may be the head and neck of a small child is attached to these lines (BL Harley 2744, fol. 76r).

The second paragraph of the gloss at the bottom of [Image 3.1](#) begins with Dido's next speech, when she erupts in fury after Aeneas's unhelpful response. This speech, too, is quoted in full; it continues onto the top of the facing folio page (not on the image). Again the glossator adds instructions at the end: **{This speech is for the Hortatory Tone; it does not lack agitated movement and a curse}**.³⁶ And again, the description is most pertinent to the last lines of Dido's speech:

"... Gone

I may be, but I'll pursue with black fire,
And when cold death has cloven body from soul,
My ghost will be everywhere. You will pay,
You despicable liar, and I will hear the news;
Word will reach me in the deeps of hell."

(*Aen.* 4.384–87; Lombardo 4.443–48)

A separate gloss on the next page of the manuscript lists which Tone of Voice is appropriate to what part of speech, and it advises using the Tone of Amplification, comprised of the Hortatory and the Pathetic Tones, for the ends of speeches:

{The Conversational Tone (*sermo*) is appropriate for the Exordium, the Statement of Facts, and the Division. The Tone of Debate (*contentio*) is appropriate for the Confirmation and Refutation. The Tone of Amplification (*amplificatio*) is appropriate for the Conclusion.}³⁷

The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* itself does provide specific instructions for the vocal delivery and gestures appropriate to the various tones of voice, but those cited for laments and exhortations are very different from those instructions for performing Dido's laments in the earlier glosses.³⁸ If the instructions in the text of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were followed, Dido's first speech, which ends in the Pathetic Tone, should be performed with "a restrained voice, deep tone, frequent intermissions, long pauses, and marked changes" (3.14.25),³⁹ and, in addition, "one ought to slap one's thigh and beat one's head and sometimes to use a calm and uniform gesticulation and a sad and disturbed expression" (3.15.27)⁴⁰—in contrast to the **{catching of the breath, sighs, and sobs}** advised in the gloss quoting her speech. Her

second speech, as one ending in an Exhortation, should be with performed according to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* with “a very thinned voice, moderate loudness, an even flow of sound, frequent modulations, and the utmost speed” (3.14.25),⁴¹ and delivered with “a quick gesture of the arm, a mobile countenance, and a keen glance” (3.15.27)⁴² —a description somewhat closer to the **{agitated movement and a curse}** of the gloss.

The instructions in the long gloss quoting and describing how to perform Dido’s speeches appear to disagree with the instructions in the text of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* itself. But a much earlier commentator on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, William of Champeaux, saw a correlation between its instructions and speeches by Dido. John Ward cites excerpts from the *reportationes*, or student notes, on William’s lecture on *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.14.24.⁴³ According to these notes, one would perform “in the narrative mode... declarations **{as Dido’s to Anna}**, demands **{as Dido’s to Aeneas}**, replies **{as of Aeneas to Dido}**.”⁴⁴ Ward concludes, “William’s students were definitely in the habit of reciting such texts [as the *Aeneid*] and paying attention to how they should be accompanied by gesture and expression.”⁴⁵

Ziolkowski quotes instructions in marginal comments on manuscripts of another classical school text, Lucan’s *Civil War*, about how to deliver certain lines or even individual words.⁴⁶ For example, “Is it worth it?” (8.391) **{is to be delivered with indignation}**, and the apostrophe to Desperation, “How much [liberty of speech you have]!” (8.454) **{is to be delivered with wonderment}**.⁴⁷ The late antique commentaries of Servius on the *Aeneid* include a number of statements concerning delivery, e.g., the fact that the leader of the successful escape of the Phoenicians was a woman (*Aen.* 1.364) **{is to be delivered as if something extraordinary}**.⁴⁸ Even specific words are **{to be delivered rather forcefully}**, such as “me” in Book 11, when Aeneas mourns, “If only I had given up my life, and this procession / were bringing **me**, not Pallas, home!” (11.162–63; Lombardo 11.189–90).⁴⁹

Often, of course, cues for classroom recitation and performance are suggested by descriptions and dialogues in the school texts themselves. Again, William of Champeaux in Ward’s translation:

[Good examples here, as we have just seen, are to be obtained from Virgil’s *Aeneid* Book 4, for example, the words] of Aeneas to Dido, of Anna or Aeneas to the pathetic words of Dido [speaking] of herself, as she glances at Aeneas’ clothing and says “spoils that were so sweet once, while fate and its god gave permission”; all of this Virgil describes sufficiently agreeably, both the words of Aeneas as he departs and of suffering Dido asking how just Aeneas’s departure may be and the replies of Anna and Aeneas, attempting her blandishment.⁵⁰

Several of the (pseudo-)classical Latin “comedies” mentioned earlier in this chapter also combine narration with dialogue, and they are particularly suggestive (in several senses) in terms of action and performance. Consider scenes from two of the most popular. *Geta* is a reworking by Vitalis of Blois of Plautus’s *Amphitryon*, in which Jupiter disguises himself as Amphitryon (a student here rather than a soldier as in Plautus) so that he can sleep with Amphitryon’s beautiful wife. The anonymous *Pamphilus*, or, as it is called in many manuscripts, *Pamphilus on Love* (*Pamphilus de amore*), has no known source; it presents a poor boy’s attempts to gain the affections of and wed a wealthy neighbor, Galathea, by employing the help of a scheming older woman.

Sexual desire is a motivating factor in both of these comedies, with more than sufficient information for “gestures and mimicry,” as in *Geta* when Amphitryon’s wife, Alcmena, and Jupiter share kisses:

Alcmena is self-controlled, and her
delightful kisses are restrained;
womanly modesty governs her speech.
But the god, he’s more wanton.
Pressing her mouth hard, with his
tongue he caresses, his lips opened wide.
His kisses savor of unrestrained passion;
his words were those of Jove.

She hangs from Jupiter’s neck, her weight
a welcome burden to the god’s neck,
for this was how he loved to be burdened.
“I could not be happier,” she says,
“if I embraced Jupiter himself,”
comparing the god to his very self.⁵¹

Pamphilus, like the *Achilleid*, includes a scene of explicit sexual violence. Near the end of the play Galathea describes what is happening to her as she pleads with Pamphilus to stop. This disturbing passage, along with the rape in the *Achilleid*, first generated my interest in what fictional women’s feelings might have meant for medieval school boys.⁵² The excerpt below, adapted from Alison Goddard Elliot’s translation, begins several lines into Galathea’s speech, where she tells Pamphilus for the third time to take his hands off her:

“Pamphilus, take your hands off ... !

...

Alas, how little strength we women have;
how easily you hold fast each of my hands!
Pamphilus, you’re hurting my breasts with your breast.

...

Stop it! I'll scream.

What are you doing?

It is wrong to take my clothes off!

...

You've conquered me, however strongly I resisted.”⁵³

[Image 3.2](#) shows this passage glossed in the manuscript that was copied in Leipzig in 1491 (ÖNB Cod. 3114, fol. 210r).⁵⁴ The interlinear glosses on the following lines in a more literal translation make absolutely clear the power differential between Galathea and Pamphilus and emphasize the actions of both:⁵⁵

Est pat' istis deinde qd loq ap' eis
 Quid loq eae loq' forma nob' p'ant Al' p'um galatee
 Na' aures latebras p'ima silua dedit
 Est aures i galateas m'is in pedula aures
 No' patet igitur e ang i galateas
 Corrupt' ang qz p' corrupt' m'is
 p'aret q' n'ost' p'aret ista diem fatigat
 P'agile tolle mag' te n'ost' frustra Al' galatea p'ad
 Nil v'z ille labor qd' p'aret e' neq'
 P'agile tolle mag' m'is in eff'et' m'is
 Jamq' redibit ang p'agile tolle mag'
 Uero n' qua' p'ant qz of' forma v'is
 Qua' l'ent' m'is v'is v'is mag'
 P'agile m'is quo' aures p'aret p'et' sed
 Q' me p' tractat d' p'et' aures n'ost'
 Desine clabo q' agis m'is detegor ate
 P'ida me m'is q' redibit aures
 Surge p'et' m'is aures v'is m'is
 Tunc a' me tradit no' b'is f'et' ang
 Vol'ga' tead' no' me loq' yte tenabit
 Nec me deap'et ut m'is f'et' ang
 Na' v'is e' p'et' q' m'is v'is
 Qz m'is m'is v'is o'is aures
 In d' m'is p'et' q' p'et' d' p'et' Al' p'ad galatea
 Du' p'et' q' m'is aures equis
 Qua' m'is d' p'et' v'is p'et'
 Cui' l'ant' l'ant' p'et' ora tuis
 Su' v'is p'et' m'is aures p'et'
 Et m'is m'is p'et' p'et'

3.2. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 3114, fol. 210r.

“Pamphilus, lift {take off} {your} hands!

...

Alas, what little {slight} strengths {slight strengths} a woman has,
 How smoothly {how easily} you hold fast {you bind} each of my hands
 {because I cannot defend myself}.

Pamphilus, why {for what reason} do you hurt my breasts with your breast?

...

Stop it {let go}! I'll scream {I want to scream}. What are you up to {do you

want to do}? I am disrobed {I am separated [from my clothes] }
wrongfully by you {you are pulling up my clothes}!

...

You will be conqueror of this deed {because conquering you can do what
you want}, however strongly I myself {Galatea} struggle {fighting the
one laboring⁵⁶}! ”⁵⁷

The large glosses in the margin identifying who is talking to whom are a continuation of those on the left-hand facing page, which begin with the preceding scene in which the Bawd manipulates Galatea to be alone with Pamphilus and continue with Pamphilus’s excuses after the deed is done. They convey the rapidity and immediacy of the actions and reactions (the last three are on the image):

{The Bawd speaks to Pamphilus and Galatea thus.}

{Pamphilus speaks to the virgin Galatea.}

{Galatea speaks to Pamphilus.}

{Pamphilus to Galatea.}

{Galatea speaks to Pamphilus.}

{Pamphilus speaks to Galatea.}

{Galatea speaks to Pamphilus.}

{Pamphilus speaks to Galatea.}⁵⁸

Compare this summary list of a rape scene, presented in dialogue only, with a summary list of the actions in the rape scene in the *Achilleid* in BL Add. 17404, reproduced in [Image 3.3](#). Each marginal list offers information that would be helpful for recitation and delivery, but of different kinds. The summary above gives cues for who is speaking (as in the marginal glosses on the *Aeneid* in [Image 1.4](#)). The glosses below, the first of which was quoted in [Chapter 2](#), suggest actions and mimicry for recitation:

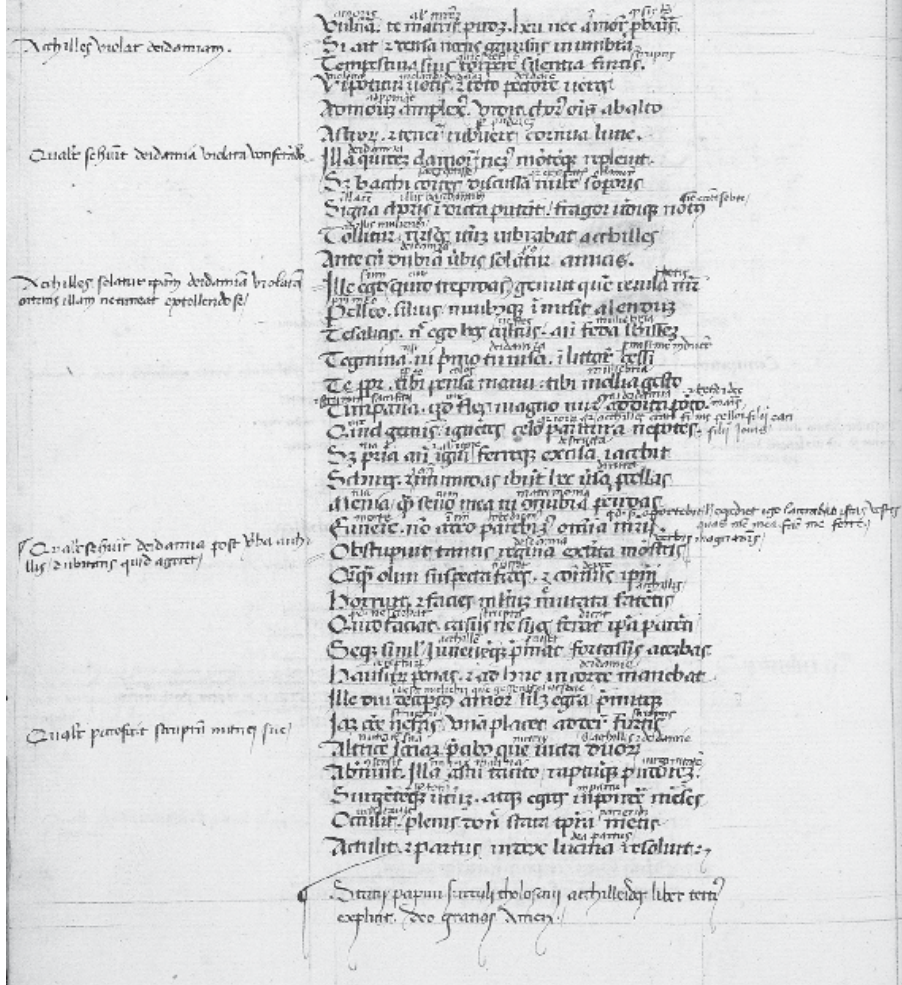
{Achilles violates Deidamia.}

{How Deidamia, violated, reacts by wailing.}

{Achilles consoles the raped Deidamia, encouraging her not to be fearful
by praising himself.}

{(How Deidamia behaves after the words of Achilles, doubting what
she should do.}

{How she revealed the vile act to her nurse.}⁵⁹



3.3. © British Library Board Add. 17404 f229v.

That the words of and actions perpetrated on Galathea and Deidamia would have been internalized and recited by boys may support a suggestion I made many years ago: that school boys learning rape scenes like these in *Pamphilus* and the *Achilleid* may have identified as easily with the victims as with the perpetrators of sexual violence.⁶⁰ Yet when reading and performing these scenes in a group setting, boys might have focused primarily on comic potential in both scenes. I once asked students in a graduate course on the medieval and early modern curriculum to read *Geta* for the first time aloud together in class. As we went around the room with a different person taking up the reading each time the speaker changed, we kept laughing at the ridiculous scenes. Suddenly one of the women in the class said, very surprised, “If we had read *Pamphilus* this way, we might have been laughing at it, too.” This comment was a revelation

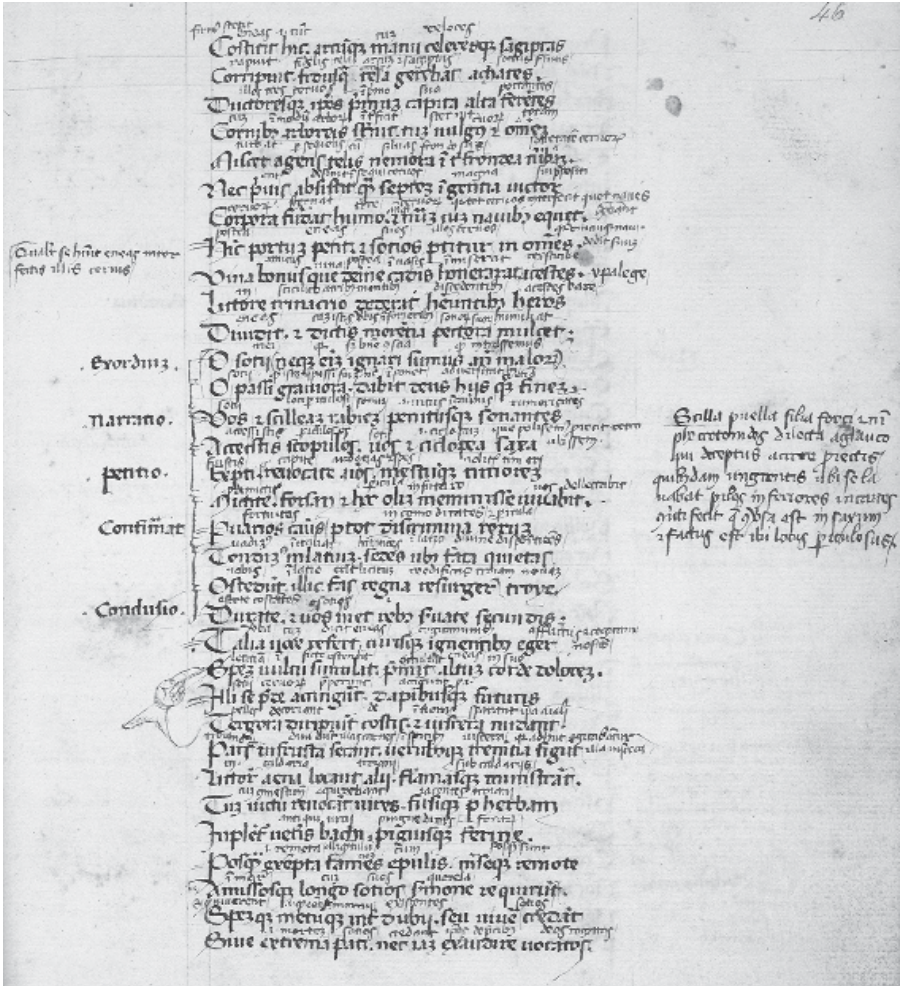
to me. Reading a text together with a group—even without any performative experience other than simply shifting speakers and even with students much older and much more sensitized to problematic sexual dynamics than medieval schoolboys—could create an experience completely different from (and probably more historically accurate than) reading it on my own as a horrified modern female reader.

Yet perhaps it should not have been such a surprise. School recitations and performances of any kind in any period, especially but not only by the young, can careen from pathos to slapstick and back to pathos in a moment. When modern schoolchildren put on informal productions of Shakespeare, conflicting emotions on the part of the audience can be a regular occurrence.⁶¹ Medieval schoolboys were not, of course, the professional boy performers of the Early Modern era, whose “charm and precocity allowed them to put on risqué satires about the London of their own day—unseemly or dangerous material if performed by adults.”⁶² These could include scenes of “adultery, bigamy, transvestite seduction, paedophilia, sodomy (‘back door’ sex), pre-marital rape, [and] in-er-face fornication” already “encountered ... on the school syllabus.”⁶³ Most of the very same actions also occur in the medieval school texts: bigamy, adultery, and fornication in *Geta* and the *Ilias latina*; premarital rape in *Pamphilus* and the *Achilleid*; and transvestite seduction in the *Achilleid* and William of Blois’s *Alda* (another medieval “comedy” that includes an unforgettable “tail” scene), to name just a few examples.

Less sexually fraught but equally emotional scenes in the texts discussed in the preceding chapters cry out for performance in a different way.⁶⁴ The next two [Images, 3.4](#) and [3.5](#), are from the same manuscript as [Image 3.3](#). They reproduce the passages in the *Aeneid* and *Achilleid* that receive the most concentrated highlighting in this manuscript (BL Add. 17404, fols. 46r and 227v). Both depict male performances and are a useful reminder that a focus on women, while one of the major themes of this study, is a subset of a general focus on emotions and recital types of performance in the medieval classroom as a whole.

The most highlighted portion of the *Aeneid* in this manuscript is the memorable speech of Aeneas to his followers in Book 1.198–207 (Lombardo 1.234–44) in [Image 3.4](#). A framing squiggle marks the entire speech; in addition, the rhetorical *partes orationis* or parts of a speech (including the typical medieval *petitio* for classical *divisio*) are identified in large letters.⁶⁵ There is no *confutatio* or Consideration of Opposing Arguments, which might have weakened the impact of Aeneas’s short exhortation to his shipwrecked companions not to lose hope.⁶⁶

Below are his solemn words introduced with the *partes orationis* in the margin of manuscript. I have also added possible instructions from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* for the type of delivery suggested for that part of speech in a short gloss cited above and repeated here: {The Conversational Tone (*sermo*) pertains to the Exordium, the Statement of Facts, and the Division. The Tone of Debate (*contentio*) pertains to the Confirmation and Refutation. The Tone of Amplification (*amplificatio*) pertains to the Conclusion}.”⁶⁷ Although each section of Aeneas’s speech is very short, several of the instructions from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* are surprisingly appropriate. The *partes orationis* in the [Image 3.4](#) are mixed verbal and nominal forms, as is quite common.



3.4. © British Library Board Add. 17404 f46r.

{Introduction} delivered with the Dignified Conversational Tone, for which “it will be proper to use the full throat but the calmest and most subdued

voice possible, yet not in such a fashion that we pass from the practice of the orator to that of the tragedian”:⁶⁸

“Trojans, this is not our first taste of trouble.

You have suffered worse than this, my friends,

And God will grant an end to this also.”

{Statement of Facts} delivered with the Narrative Conversational Tone, wherein “varied intonations are necessary, so that we seem to recount everything just as it took place”:⁶⁹

“You faced Scylla’s fury in her thundering crags

And braved the Cyclops’ rocks.”

{Plea} [not a classical *pars*; how would you deliver it?]

“Recall your courage

And put aside your fear and grief.”

{He Provides Support for His Plea} delivered with the Sustained Tone of Debate wherein “one ought moderately to increase the vocal volume, and ... to deliver the words rapidly in a full voice, so that the voice production can follow the fluent energy of the speech”:⁷⁰

“Someday, perhaps,

It will help to remember these troubles as well.

Through all sorts of perils, through countless dangers,

We are headed for Latium, where the Fates promise us

A peaceful home, and where Troy will rise again.”

{Conclusion} delivered with, for the Hortatory Tone,⁷¹ that is, with “a very thin-toned voice, moderate loudness, an even flow of sound, ... and the utmost speed”:⁷²

“Endure, and save yourselves for happier times!”⁷³

In another manuscript in which *partes orationis* are added to this text, Biblioteca Corsiniana 43 G 22 (dated 1438) the third *pars* is identified as the traditional classical *diuisio*: **{He divides / Diuidit}** on fol. 28r. This gloss emphasizes the distinction between the positive and negative emotions of “Recall your courage / And put aside your fear and grief,” for which interpretation the speaker might use the Explicative Conversational Tone, according to the instructions to “incline the body forward a little from the shoulders, since it is natural to bring the face as close as possible to our hearers when we wish to prove a point and arouse them vigorously.”⁷⁴

Below the *partes orationis* in [Image 3.4](#), a *manicula* or little hand in a lighter ink points to the description of Aeneas’s inner despair that follows his speech: “[H]e put on a good face / And pushed his anguish deep into his heart” (*Aen.* 1.209; Lombardo 1.246–47). Note here the distinction between a framing squiggle highlighting a passage and a *manicula* highlighting an individual line.

In contrast to this inspirational speech of Aeneas, the most highlighted portion of the *Achilleid* in BL Add. 17404 (which ends at 1.808 because of a missing quire, before Achilles has been outed as a

man) is a gloss identifying a speech of divine ventriloquism and outrage taking place at the Greek camp. As you can see in [Image 3.5](#), **{Third Chapter / Capitulum tertium}** is written in the upper left-hand corner at line 1.491; this identifies the chapter within Medieval Book 3.⁷⁵ Such chapter divisions in and of themselves indicate formal academic attention; Boccaccio added chapter divisions to his own manuscript of one of his vernacular works to make it look like manuscripts of classical texts.⁷⁶ They occur in the margins of both the *Aeneid* and the *Achilleid* in this manuscript.⁷⁷

This new chapter begins just before the speech of Protesilaus to the priest Calchas, demanding to know where Achilles is hiding, a pivotal speech that is often and variously divided into *partes orationis* (*Ach.* 1.496–513; Lombardo 1.555–75). In BL 17404 the *partes* emphasize information, both known and desired. The words of Protesilaus are identified simply as **{a speech / oratio}** in the first marginal gloss directly to the left, and, as is often the case in manuscripts, the *exordium* or introduction is not identified. A first **{Statement of the Facts}** explains how much Achilles is needed and wanted (1.499–502; Lombardo 1.559–63), followed by a long **{Request}** begging and finally ordering Calchas to find Achilles (1.503–09; Lombardo 1.564–71). The speech concludes with a second **{Statement of Facts}** reminding Calchas that, while he does not have to fight with weapons, he does have a responsibility to help out in the war effort; Protesilaus ends with the reassurance that “you will be blissful beyond all our commanders / if you pay us with great Achilles in lieu of yourself” (1.510–13; Lombardo 1.772–75).⁷⁸

oratio

partitio

narratio

Callias recipit spiritum fidei

Tripodas sunt altaria fidei.

Verba apollinis
dicit percaltrantes.

3.5. © British Library Board Add. 17404 f227v.

The unusual identification of two long sections as just the facts implies that almost all of the speech could be delivered in versions of the Conversational Tone (perhaps in explicit contrast to what is coming next). A more intense delivery of this same speech is implied by the more traditional *partes orationis* applied to it in a late fourteenth-century Italian manuscript in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30.⁷⁹ Neither manuscript identifies the introduction, but what is the first Statement of Facts in Harley 17404 is identified in the Vallicelliana manuscript as a {Refutation} of the argument that the presence of Diomedes and the Ajaxes in the camp should be

sufficient; it would be delivered appropriately in the more aggressive or emotional Tone of Debate. The Request in Harley 17404 is identified in Vallicelliana B 30 as **{Support for the Argument}**, which focuses on why the Greeks need Calchas's help, and the rest of the speech is identified as a **{Conclusion}**.⁸⁰ Thus, the *partes orationis* glosses in the Vallicelliana manuscript suggest a performance of the speech as a rhetorically shaped whole, whereas in the Harley manuscript in [Image 3.5](#), the *partes orationis* imply a more low-key performance of a speech providing background information for what is to come.

Responding to the speech of Protesilaus, Calchas channels Apollo, or as a small gloss below the *partes* announces, **{Calchas received the spirit of Phoebus}** at line 1.514; Lombardo 1.576.⁸¹ Statius himself provides ample instruction for an intense, possibly campy performance of the scene:

All this while Calchas was nervously scanning the distance
and when he suddenly turned pale it was clear
that the god was entering him. Soon he is rolling
fiery blood-red eyes that see neither comrades nor camp,
blind and in another world. Now he apprehends
the great assemblies of the exalted ones in heaven.

....

His hair stands on end, his headbands struggling to stay on,
his neck is twisted around, and he stumbles along
until in a final spasm he opens his weary mouth
in long groans and his voice escapes fury's stranglehold:

(Ach. 1.515–18, 522–25; Lombardo 1.576–81, 585–88)

As the large, bold gloss at the bottom left tells us, this performance is followed by **{The words of Apollo said through Calchas}**.⁸² A flamboyant, hyperextenuated *manicula* points to the gloss itself, rather than to the text, emphasizing the importance of this speech act. Apollo's words themselves are highlighted by a framing squiggle that begins at the bottom of the image and continues at the top of the facing page (not reproduced). In this important speech, Apollo/Calchas first harangues Thetis for removing Achilles from the care of the centaur Chiron and hiding him in the company and clothes of women. Imagine the following words spoken by a student who had just writhed his way through the preceding passage:

“Where, Nereid, are you taking Chiron's mighty ward
with your woman's wiles? Send him here! Why take him away?
I will not allow it. He is mine, mine! You are a sea-goddess?
Well, Phoebus drives me. Where are you trying to hide
the over-thrower of Asia?”

Suddenly the boy reciting the speech of Apollo sees Achilles in his hiding place and wearing women's clothes, and he erupts with the following lines:

“Oh, the wicked crime!

Look, flowing garments are put on his chest. Tear them off,
boy, tear them off! Don't give in to your fearful mother.

Ah me, he is stolen! Who is that shameless girl there?”

(Ach. 1.533–35; Lombardo 1.596–99)

Then he collapses.

When you look for them, performance cues are everywhere in the school texts. On the very next folio opening of the *Achilleid*, a gloss announces, **{Deidamia teaches Achilles women's movements}** at the passage beginning, “She has things to teach him too: how to move / his strong limbs more gracefully and how to tease out / raw wool with his thumb” (Ach. 1.580–82; Lombardo 1.648–60).⁸³ The scene that follows would be almost Shakespearean in its gender-layering when performed in an all-male classroom: a boy playing a girl teaches another boy playing a boy pretending to be a girl how to be an even better one. Scenes with more traditional roles, such as the reunion of Helen and Paris in the *Ilias latina* quoted in [Chapter 2](#), also call for emotive delivery verging on parody, and under the right circumstances almost any child might enjoy acting out these action-filled lines from the *Ilias latina*:

Patroclus ... quickly flies

forward and terrifies the Trojans with a false appearance.

They who were disordering the Greeks and raging with courage

now flee in terror; Patroclus presses on them as they flee

and fiercely disturbs their ranks, and all along the lengthy line

he lays men low, and cuts down Sarpedon with a mighty wound.

(*Ilias* 805–11)

Even painful, tragic scenes like Dido killing herself with the sword could be just as easily acted with over-the-top, exuberant versions of stabbing oneself.⁸⁴ Such a theatrical gesture might resemble the depiction of her throwing herself backwards off the parapet in the *Carmina Burana* manuscript in [Frontispiece 1](#).

In bringing this study to a close, it behooves us to remember that schoolboy performances of speeches in the voices of emotional female characters are one of the most consistent, or at least recurring, aspects of pedagogy in the long history of all-male learning environments in the European West. We have evidence from as early as the fourth

century BCE,⁸⁵ and the tradition continued well after the end of the Middle Ages.⁸⁶ One of the most revealing examples comes, again, from Augustine. While Dido is the character for whose emotions he felt the most affinity, Augustine also describes a classroom experience with a different female character in the *Aeneid*: Juno. In a later section of the first book of the *Confessions*, after the memories of Dido that we examined in [Chapter 1](#), he tells us that he and his classmates were assigned to rewrite in prose and then perform Juno's angry words near the beginning of the *Aeneid* about why she hates the Trojans and their leader (*Aen.* 1.37–49; Lombardo 1.49–63). Here is how Augustine describes the assignment:

It chanced that a task was set me, which I did not like but had to do.... It was to declaim the words uttered by Juno in her rage and grief when she could not keep the Trojan prince from coming to Italy. I had learnt that Juno had never said these words, but we were compelled to err in the footsteps of the poet who had invented them: and it was our duty to paraphrase in prose what he had said in verse. In this exercise that boy won most applause in whom the passions of grief and rage were expressed most powerfully and in the language most adequate to the majesty of the personage represented.⁸⁷

Although Juno is twice associated with grief as well as rage in Augustine's description (*irascentis et dolentis, irae ac doloris*), she appears to have been the byword for anger alone according to one of the most influential modern studies of emotion in the ancient world.⁸⁸ That may be why the young Augustine, so exquisitely attuned to grief, does not seem to have resonated with Juno's emotions as he did with Dido's, for he does not mention Dido's anger earlier, only his pity and weeping for her pain.

Augustine says that he and the other students had to express Juno's emotions of grief and rage in a form appropriate to the status of the character. That is, the composition had to be consistent with the fundamental Attributes of Character most clearly described in Cicero's *De inventione*, a work known to Augustine, who as an adult quotes another section of it in one of his *Quaestiones*.⁸⁹ The Ciceronian Attributes most relevant to Augustine's assignment are Juno's Nature (*natura*): she is divine, female, and the sister as well as the wife of the king of the gods; her Feelings (*affectiones*) of grief and rage; and her speech (*oratio*), in which she talks about past wrongs, present constraints, and fears for the future, a sequence that accords with Cicero's temporal framework (*Inv.* 1.24.34–25.36).

Classroom exercises of this type are well documented in the late antique and Byzantine worlds. Augustine's assignment was a form of *ethopoeia*, or *prosopopoeia*, the most common version of which was a speech in the voice of a specific character. Modern translators call it "Characterization" or "Impersonation."⁹⁰ For the ancient rhetorician

Quintilian, it is by “far the most difficult exercise,” but, as he also says, “it is particularly valuable also to future poets and historians” (*Inst.* 3.8.50).⁹¹ In other words, it is beneficial for those who have to create vivid scenes and speeches.

In the Greek tradition this exercise was often taught as part of the *progymnasmata*, another Greek term meaning a specific sequence of preliminary school exercises that prepared boys for later rhetorical training for the law courts.⁹² Each exercise was based on known texts or commonplaces, each was composed of specific steps, each was more complicated than the one before it, and each drew on the material and techniques of the former exercises while adding new approaches. *Ethopoeia* comes in at number eleven, fairly far along in the sequence, after the students have learned to elaborate given material ranging from a proverb to a known narrative, and to approach material from both positive and negative points of view. This exercise was the first time that students had to struggle directly with emotion and tone as the focus of their writing.

The fourth-century Greek rhetorician Aphthonius, whose textbook on *progymnasmata* was popular both before and after the later Middle Ages, defines *ethopoeia* as “the imitation of a speech of a particular character in a specific situation, e.g., what Niobe would say on the death of her children.”⁹³ (Note the female character.) The *progymnasmata* of another Greek rhetorician, Hermogenes (second century CE), was translated into Latin by Priscian in the sixth century; Priscian defines *adlocutio*, his term for the exercise, as “the imitation of speech accommodated to imaginary situations and persons; for example, one might compose a speech such as Andromache would have spoken over the dead Hector.”⁹⁴ (Again, a female character.) Yet although some 45 manuscripts of Priscian’s translation survive, there is not much evidence that it was used during the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries.⁹⁵ In 1542 Reinhard Lorich’s popular Latin version of Aphthonius (incorporating material from Priscian and others) was published; it was adapted and translated into English by Richard Rainolde in 1563, with “What lamentable Oracion Hecuba Quene of Troie might make, Troie being destroyed” as a composition topic.⁹⁶ (Again.)

Eugenio Amato and Gianluca Ventrella’s 2005 list of both literary and classroom *ethopoeia* subjects known from Greek and Latin rhetorical sources up through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries runs to more than nine printed pages.⁹⁷ These include literary topics from the late antique Greek tradition based on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, including a speech for Paris when Menelaus is wounded, one for Hector when Patroclus proves unable to wield Achilles’s spear (sometimes with a reply by Patroclus), one for Athena seeking to calm

Achilles's anger, and a speech of the Greek wives upon meeting Helen in Greece. The Christian Byzantine examples are literary compositions on such subjects as the words of Adam after expulsion from Paradise; of Cain after killing Abel (paired with those of Abel after being killed by Cain); and of Lazarus resurrected. There are also two speeches of the Virgin Mary: one after the water is turned to wine and the other when seeing her son hanging on the cross.

In the Latin West, until the Greek treatises on *progymnasmata* were translated in the sixteenth century, the organization of school exercises was less rigid. Even early in the tradition, *ethopoeia* was sometimes assigned on its own, as appears to have been the case with Augustine. When we look at the list of all surviving Latin *ethopoeia* subjects, both literary and classroom, we can see that only a tenth as many examples have survived as in Greek, and all are from the late antique or very early medieval periods.⁹⁸ The speakers in the literary Latin examples are (by Dracontius) Hercules and (by Ennodius) Diomedes, Thetis, Menelaus, Juno, and Dido. The speakers in the Latin classroom exercises from the *Anthologia Latina* are Achilles, Aeneas (when his ships have been burned), Saces (to Turnus), Dido, and (it is surmised) Augustus. Taken together, three of the ten speakers are female, comparable to the “about one third of the examples of written *ethopoeiae* preserved in ancient authors or as suggested themes in text-books.”⁹⁹ The Latin tradition appears almost claustrophobic in contrast to the Greek, only a very few examples of which I have cited. Like Augustine's own education discussed in the first chapter, it is based on a few texts and an extremely limited number of characters. But another point from the first chapter: depth often trumps breadth from a pedagogical perspective.

A number of scholars, including myself, believe that versions of this particular composition assignment were practiced during the Middle Ages, although direct evidence is lacking.¹⁰⁰ There are striking similarities between Augustine's assignment and what we do know about medieval composition exercises: (1) Augustine's assignment is based on a passage in a text that the students already know. Important examples in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, the most widely copied medieval rhetorical treatise, draw on classical mythology and the Bible.¹⁰¹ (2) His assignment focuses on a very early moment in the text; in fact, the very first speech. This, too, anticipates medieval composition exercises, which were often based on the beginnings of classical stories, such as that of Pyramus and Thisbe, or Niobe. (3) Augustine and his classmates performed their compositions in class, as did medieval students.¹⁰²

The artificiality, the artfulness, of such performances—of whatever degree of sophistication—is automatically generated when the

boundary of any of the categories listed under Cicero's second attribute of persons, *natura*, is crossed: from human to god (and vice versa), male to female, boy to adult, boy to old man, noble to servant, etc. (*Inv.* 1.24.35). The temporal origin of these classical texts themselves, written centuries earlier and in very different cultural contexts from those of (not just) medieval students, ensures that participating in them crosses additional boundaries in the artificial setting of the classroom, where students are conjoined with and shaped by texts from other eras. These works, and the emotions embedded in them, were and still can be potent pedagogical tools. Students learn emotions as well as texts in the classroom, and the powerful nature of learned or manufactured emotions is just beginning to be studied.¹⁰³

I have tried to show that manuscript formatting and highlighting along with marginal comments suggest that the tradition of boys temporarily inhabiting the feelings of women from the classical and pseudo-classical tradition was a prominent part of schooling in the centuries between the late antique and early modern periods. As has been adduced throughout this study, often the most common kind of marginal gloss in medieval narrative texts is the identification of speeches, where we are often told who is speaking and to whom and sometimes about what (e.g., [Introduction Image A](#) and [Images 1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 2.2, 3.2, and 3.5](#)).¹⁰⁴ Framing squiggles in the margin highlight a whole speech or the most important lines ([Introduction Image A](#) and [Images 1.1, 1.2, 3.4, and 3.5](#)) while *maniculae* (pointing hands) identify individual lines of specific import to the scene or proverbial statements of wide applicability in other kinds of compositions ([Image 2.7, 3.4, and 3.5](#)).¹⁰⁵ *Partes orationis* glosses ([Images 2.3, 3.4 and 3.5](#)) obviously function analytically; in addition, however, they provide information that could be employed for a nuanced presentation of speeches with an audience and character portrayal in mind.¹⁰⁶ Of course, as we have seen, these and other kinds of highlighting and glossing are relevant to the interpretation and performance of speeches by men as well as women ([Images 1.2, 1.4, 2.7, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5](#)). Yet the central and consistent place of speeches by female characters emphasizes their importance in the history of Western pedagogy—and of learning from literature in the broadest sense.¹⁰⁷

That this tradition is so widespread and long-lasting, and especially so taken for granted by its pedagogical participants, perhaps should not be so surprising as it is, given the long tradition of theatrical productions at single-sex schools. Today, students' familiarity with role-playing games in cyberspace, with fanzines and cosplay, may help them to find the historical tradition of temporarily inhabiting the

emotions of another gender attractive. Contemporary attention to virtual gender can help us to unpack both the potential and at times troubling power of this transhistorical tradition. For example, as the editors of the groundbreaking collection *Virtual Gender: Fantasies of Subjectivity and Embodiment* note,

The debate between an idea of the virtual world as a site for alternate gender constructions and a concept of it as just another place where such conventions are replicated derives from prior and long-standing fantasies about gender. Notions about the significance of gender for behavior, aesthetics, and ethics have often been formulated in those genres and works we understand as literally ‘fantastic’: in Singer’s ‘Yentl,’ in *As You Like It*, in Ovidian metamorphoses and animal-groom folktales, in the Flies and Blobs and Things of cheesy 1950s cinema, in Barrie’s Peter Pan no less than Mary Martin’s, and in Wilde’s picture [sic] of Dorian Gray.¹⁰⁸

The fantastical aspect of emphasizing ancient female emotions in classical texts taught in medieval schools contributes to the power of the pedagogical tradition I have explored in these three chapters.¹⁰⁹

The potential for generating emotion in the creative reworking of these texts, especially in the *Aeneid*, resonates in some of the most famous manuscripts of medieval Latin lyric poetry. For example, the picture of Dido killing herself in the *Carmina Burana* manuscript reproduced in the [Frontispiece 1](#) and discussed in the first chapter is preceded by a short group of lyrics (written in continuous lines).¹¹⁰ All but one of these are based on the Trojan War and its aftermath (CB 97–101; Clm 4660, fols. 73r–77r).¹¹¹ Reminiscent of schoolroom exercises are a pair of two-line poems (99a and 99b) added in the margins next to the beginning and end of one of the lyrics. Although their authors have been identified,¹¹² I treat this pair below as they appear in the manuscript, as glosses written in the margins offering a further level of abbreviation of the Trojan story, rather than as separate poems as they are printed in modern editions. The first stanza of the lyric speaks of Paris, and it is marked with “unheightened German neumes” by a neumatist whose work is associated with lyrics displaying “an attitude of bewailing, of lament” (CB 99, stanza 1).¹¹³ Here is the lyric in the formatting of modern editions (in the manuscript it is written in continuous lines):

~~The haughty Paris~~
~~loved to beauty~~
~~and seduced the~~ Trojans.¹¹⁴

To the right the following lines are written in the narrow margin:

{Love arms Paris, he wants the daughter of Tyndareus [Helen], he takes her.

The deed is exposed, the enemy arrives, war is fought, Troy falls.}¹¹⁵

The poem continues with the story of Dido and Aeneas, including a second half, thought to be by another author, which describes the anguish of Aeneas after hearing of Dido's death.¹¹⁶ Next to the last stanza of this apparently added section, in which Aeneas expresses his gratitude to Dido, is another couplet:

{Verses:

Aeneas offered the cause of death and the sword. Dido fell by her own hand.}¹¹⁷

These lines appear to belong earlier, next to the tenth stanza, which was probably the original ending:

~~So fragile sword,~~
~~thoroughly by deaths~~
~~We tell of lovers,~~

The two marginal couplets, one medieval and one classical, epitomize and frame the traditional story.¹¹⁹ Added in the margins without identification or explanation, they evoke the staying power of the emotions created in medieval classrooms and resemble a common composition exercise in the medieval classroom.¹²⁰ Indeed, the second couplet, although by Ovid, reminds me of the Augustinian recollection with which this study began: "I wept for Dido, slain as she sought by the sword an end to her woe."

Peter Dronke has written powerfully about medieval Dido laments, including several of these in the *Carmina Burana* manuscript.¹²¹ He analyzes most memorably *Carmina Burana* 100, beginning "O glory, kingdom of Libya, city of Carthage!" (*O decus, o Lybye regnum, Carthaginis urbem*), a long, complex, intensely moving first-person lament leading up to her suicide.¹²² Such poems satisfy the desire to feel again Dido's pain. As the female protagonist of "Forget My Fate," a short story by Marina Warner drawing on Henry Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas*, reflects, "Funny that tragic self-killing should be such a place of satisfaction, of comfort." But then she adds, "Maybe there is an alternative story ... with a happy ending."¹²³ In the *Carmina Burana* manuscript, there is.

The very first Dido poem in the manuscript (CB 98; Clm 4660, fol. 73v–74r) is a short, third-person narrative that, as David A. Traill notes, "seems intended for a student audience."¹²⁴ It directly precedes the poem with the added marginal verses, and it concludes with a celebration of the sex scene of Dido and Aeneas in the cave, where "she hid under the [Trojan] leader in a cave / and placed herself beneath him" (CB 98 7.5–6).¹²⁵ The poem begins, "After Troy's destruction," and this phrase plus the following word *dux* (lord, leader) are neumed in the same hand as the first lines of CB 99 (fol.

73v).¹²⁶ While additional neumes on *excidium* (destruction) in the first line appear to emphasize the tragedy that forced Aeneas to leave Troy, in the next line Aeneas is described as wandering “happily” (*feliciter*, inserted in the margin in the same hand) when he arrives at Dido’s court. Their physical union in the cave is described in what Dronke calls “scholastic-erotic metaphors.”¹²⁷ In my translation of these lines I have attempted to reflect the gender ambiguity of the manuscript readings:

The [Trojan] leader makes his syllogism
in three opposing propositions;
she beguiles (*fallit*) with opposing moves;
and, although {s/he} uses forceful arguments,
nevertheless in these brief hours
{s/he} is beguiled (*fallitur*).¹²⁸

As Traill reminds us, “Bischoff suggested that the ‘three propositions’ are to be understood as referring to Aeneas’s penis and testicles.”¹²⁹ “Then,” in Dronke’s words, “suddenly these lighthearted allusions to the sexual act pass into an almost Boethian glimpse of cosmic love.”¹³⁰ Here is his translation of the end of the poem, but with the final word in the Latin, *O M N I A*, spaced and capitalized as in the manuscript:¹³¹

And so, blissful in the conjunction of these two,
the palace of the ether grew resplendent—
for at the joys of love
A L L T H I N G S smile, grow radiant.¹³²

A case can be made for reading the poem as saturated with foreboding, with foreknowledge of what will happen after the joy with which it concludes.¹³³ With Dronke, however, I prefer to read it as someone giving Dido a happy ending at last.¹³⁴ If so, then we do not *always* have to weep for Dido.

¹ “quasi res non cantio fiat,” Walther Bulst, “Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,” *Liber Floridus, Mittellateinische Studien, Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 13. July 1949 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, eds. Bernard Bischoff and Suso Brechter (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag der Erzabtai, 1950), pp. 287–301, here 296. The poem is translated by Gerald A. Bond in *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence and Power in Romanesque France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 72–73, here 73.

² André Wilmart, “Un nouveau poème de Marbode. Hildebert et Rivallon,” *Revue bénédictine* 51 (1939): 169–81, here 169. (Wilmart cites the signature of SBB Phill. 1992 incorrectly as 1792.) The poem had been edited in a collection of Marbod’s work published in Rennes in 1524, of which only a single exemplar, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, was known (Bulst, “Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,”

1–2, 8). See, however, Bond, *Loving subject*, p. 231n1.

³ Bond, *Loving Subject*, p. 70.

⁴ E.g., Marjorie Curry Woods, “Boys Will Be Women: Musings on Classroom Nostalgia and the Chaucerian Audience(s),” *Speaking Images: Essays in Honor of V. A. Kolve*, ed. Robert F. Yeager and Charlotte C. Morse (Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 2001), pp. 143–66, here 144–45.

⁵ Bond, *Loving Subject*, p. 73.

⁶ *Marbodius discipulo suo, De ornamentis verborum*, PL 171, col. 1691B. See also H. A. Kelly, “Occupatio as Negative Narration: A Mistake for ‘Occultatio/Praeteritio,’” *Modern Philology* 74.3 (1977): 311–315.

⁷ “Grata fit ingratus recreatio nam cruciatus” (line 30).

⁸ Emended from Bond’s “banishing as often as I want the ennui of a carefilled life.” On this emendation to Bond’s translation suggested by R. James Goldstein, see Woods, “Boys Will Be Women,” 155n11.

⁹ Ad sonitum cithare solitus sum me recreare,

Pellere sollicite quotiens volo tedia vite.

Est citharista meus non ipse puer Cithereus.

Sed puer ipse deo paulominus a Cithereo,

Cuius dulce melos transcendit acumine celos:

Concinit hic odam misero de milite quodam.

Cuius amica gemit, quod eum sibi casus ademit.

Bulst draws on the first edition of the poem as well as the Berlin manuscript (“Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods,” p. 296). Since his edition is the basis for Bond’s translation, it is cited here with readings from SBB Phill. 1992 added in brackets. Variants in orthography are not noted, except that the manuscript has “uitae” in line 2 (and “terrae” in line 16), yet “cythare” passim. In line 5 the manuscript reads “Concinit,” not “Cecinit” as Bulst states in his apparatus.

¹⁰ “Hic” is masculine singular, “amica” is feminine singular, literally, female friend, but often connoting female lover in courtly love code, as in the famous seduction lyric, “Iam dulcis amica, venito” in the *Cambridge Songs*, ed. and trans. Jan Ziolkowski (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), CC 27, pp. 92–94. The “her” in the last line quoted here is a translation of “sibi,” a non-gender-specific pronoun referring to the subject of the sentence. For more on “amica” see Bond, p. 234n14.

¹¹ Marjorie Curry Woods, *Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the Poetria nova across Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010), pp. 63–64.

¹² Vulnera sunt mentis mihi singula verba gementis,

Tacta sonora chelis replet atria tota querelis,

Ad cithare questum fit cor mihi flebile mestum.

Membra iacentis humo iam pallida iam sine fumo

Virgo leuare parat, quem lancea lata forarat [perarat MS]

Corpus ad exertis cadit amplexura lacertis,

In medio nisu, sine mente fit et [et om. MS] sine uisu;

Vixque refecta mora crudis secat vnguibus ora,

Inmoritur terre, loquitur que nolo referre.

Est recitare metus grauis irritamina fletus,

Os oculos vultum gelida iam morte sepultum,

Singula commemorat, non sunt ea qualia norat,
Oscula fusa super dat ei non qualia nuper.
Collige, quid dicat, dum vulnera sanguine siccant.
Collige, quid memoret, dum vultibus eius inheret.

(Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," p. 296)

¹³ The reading in SBB Phill. 1992 and in Wilmart's transcription is "quasi non cantio fiat," vs. "quasi res non cantio fiat" in Bulst from the 1524 Rennes edition. The complete line in the manuscript reading would be translated, "These things the boy creates as if it were not a song being performed."

¹⁴ Hec puer effigiat, quasi res [res *om. MS*] non cantio fiat.
Dum citharizatur, plus quam satis est imitatur
Virginis amplexus fidium vocisque reflexus.
Transit in affectus varios mihi mobile pectus
Meque pati credo, quicquid sonat a citharedo.
Sic michi pro ludo succedit sollicitudo.
Que dum me ledit; res in contraria cedit,
Grata fit ingratus recreatio nam cruciatus.

(Bulst, "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods," p. 296)

¹⁵ Wilmart, "Un nouveau poème de Marbode," p. 175: "n'est-ce pas clair pour tout lecteur instruit qu'il dépeint Andromaque devant le cadavre d'Hector ... ?"

¹⁶ Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 1.214–5. Dronke also discusses and then dismisses Wilmart's association as well as the possibility that "the image of the knight wounded to death and the maiden weeping over his body may suggest a *Pietà*," p. 215.1.

¹⁷ Hennig Brinkmann, *Mittelalterliche Hermeneutik* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1980), p. 206n939.

¹⁸ "We do not know the identity of the girl or the knight: they are not Priam and Hecuba or Hector and Andromache" (C. Stephen Jaeger, *Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994], 163; see also 429n141).

¹⁹ A space and a larger initial are all that indicate the beginning of a poem (SBB Phill. 1992, fol. 81ra).

²⁰ Bond examines the literary types of the "Knight" and "Girl-Friend," *Loving Subject*, pp. 73–75.

²¹ Dronke, "Hector in Eleventh-Century Latin Lyrics," p. 143. On the performative aspects of the Hector poem with which the preceding chapter ended, see pp. 140–42, where Dronke is in dialogue with Maria De Marco, "Cuius mortem defle lector," *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* n.s. 3 (1972): 372–77, here 374.

²² Peter Mendelsund, *What We See When We Read: A Phenomenology. With Illustrations* (New York: Vintage, 2014).

²³ Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 429n141 on p. 163.

²⁴ {**Hic ostendit qualiter pronuntiatio differre debeat secundum differentias personarum ...**} (Lisa Ciccone, ed., *Esegesi Oraziana nel medioevo: Il commento "Communiter"* [Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2016], p. 233); see all the glosses on the *Ars Poetica*, lines 105–27, on pp. 230–34.

²⁵ Martin Camargo, "Medieval Rhetoric Delivers; or, Where Chaucer Learned How to Act," *New Medieval Literatures* 9 (2007): 41–62, here 45: "medieval students were (1) thoroughly habituated to regarding texts—particularly, but not exclusively,

poetic texts—as scripts for performance and (2) well practised in the techniques of oral interpretation.”

²⁶ Cf. Ellen Dissanayake, *Homo aestheticus: Where Art Comes From and Why* (New York: Free Press, 1992), p. 185: “Most empathists held that bodily feelings were projected outward from the perceiver onto the art object. Current neurophysiological findings, however, suggest that the work of art writes itself on the perceiver’s body.”

²⁷ Klementyna Aura Glińska, “Transcribing ‘Elegiac Comedies’: Transformation of Greek and Latin Theatrical Traditions in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Poetry,” in *Cultures in Motion: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, eds. Adam Izdebski and Damian Jasiński (Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2014), pp. 45–70, here 46.

²⁸ Glińska, “Transcribing ‘Elegiac Comedies,’” p. 53.

²⁹ Glińska, “Transcribing ‘Elegiac Comedies,’” p. 69.

³⁰ In addition to “Medieval Rhetoric Delivers,” see Martin Camargo, “Special Delivery: Were Medieval Letter Writers Trained in Performance?” in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 173–89; and Camargo, “Epistolary Declamation: Performing Model Letters in Medieval English Classrooms,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79.3 (2016): 345–63.

³¹ Camargo, “Epistolary Declamation,” p. 356.

³² Camargo, “Epistolary Declamation,” p. 358.

³³ On ÖNB Cod. 3147 see Franz Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek von 1451 bis 1500* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), 1.66 and 2.245 (Image 340).

³⁴ I quote Harry Caplan’s translation with some modifications in *Ad C. Herennium: de ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954; reprint 1989). Latin text quoted from *Cornifici Rhetorica ad C. Herennium*, ed. Gualtiero Calboli (Pàtron Editore: Bologna, 1993): “Cohortatio est oratio, quae aliquod peccatum amplificans auditorem ad iracundiam adducit. Conquestio est oratio, quae incommodorum amplificatione animum auditoris ad misericordiam perducit.” On this section of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in general, see Calboli, pp. 264–65.

³⁵ {**Hec oratio est in conquestionem que non caret singultu suspiriis et lacrimis**} (ÖNB Cod. 3147, fol. 81v). I am grateful to William Little for his suggestion about the translations of this statement and that in footnote 36, which differ from mine in Marjorie Curry Woods, “Performing Dido,” in *Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo*, eds. Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 253–65.

³⁶ {**Hec oratio est in cohortationem que non caret exercitatione et maledictione**} (ÖNB Cod. 3147, fol. 82r).

³⁷ {**Sermo pertinet ad exordium narrationem et diuisionem. Contentio pertinet ad confirmationem et confutationem. Amplificatio pertinet ad conclusionem**} (ÖNB Cod. 3147, fol. 82r).

³⁸ Between Dido’s speeches and the short gloss assigning tones of voice to *partes orationis*, the glossator quotes excerpts of prose speeches by named male speakers that are identified as in the Pathetic Tone. No instructions for delivery are provided, however, presumably because delivery of these speeches would be more in accord with the instructions in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. For full transcriptions and comparisons of the speeches and excerpts, see Woods, “Performing Dido.”

³⁹ “In conquestione utemur voce depressa, inclinato sono, crebris intervallis, longis spatiis, magnis commutationibus” (*Rhet. Her.* 3.14.25).

⁴⁰ “Sin utemur amplificatione per conquestionem, feminis plangore et capitis ictu, nonnumquam sedato et constanti gestu, maest < o > et conturbato vultu uti oportebit” (*Rhet. Her.* 3.15.27).

⁴¹ “In amplificationibus < cum > cohortatione utemur voce atten < ua > tissima, clamore leni, sono aequabili, commutationibus < crebris >, maxima celeritate” (*Rhet. Her.* 3.14.25).

⁴² “brachio celeri, mobili vultu, acri aspectu”; these instructions for the Hortatory Tone are “a somewhat slower and more deliberate gesticulation” of “the procedure for the Sustained Tone of Debate” (*Rhet. Her.* 3.15.27).

⁴³ On “reportationes” see John Ward, “Master William of Champeaux and Some Other Early Commentators on the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,” in *Public Declamations*, pp. 21–44, here 26 and 42; also Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, p. 185 with further references.

⁴⁴ Ward, “Master William of Champeaux,” p. 43, reformatted.

⁴⁵ Ward, “Master William of Champeaux,” p. 43.

⁴⁶ Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 153–54. The date of composition of the *Adnotationes super Lucanum* is debated, but I am convinced by Shirley Werner’s conclusion that they are part of “a chapter in the history of Carolingian, not ancient, commentary” (“On the History of the *Commenta Bernensia* and the *Adnotationes Super Lucanum*,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 96 [1994]: 343–68, here 366).

⁴⁷ {cum invidia pronuntiandum “tanti est”} {“Quantum” cum admiratione est pronuntiandum} (Ziolkowski, *Nota bene*, 153–54; formatting mine).

⁴⁸ {pronuntiandum quasi mirum} (S. *In Aen.* 1.363 [=4]; *Servii grammatici in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo and Herman Hagen [Leipzig: Teubner, 1922], Vol. 1, p. 124.14); hereafter cited as Thilo-Hagen. Formatting is mine here and in later citations.

⁴⁹ {vehementius pronuntiandum}, S. *In Aen.* 11.163; Thilo-Hagen, Vol. 3, p. 496.3. I’m grateful to Margareta Fredborg for alerting me to these comments (and the gloss on Horace cited above in note 24). She comments about the long list of Servius’s references to delivery, “As always with Servius Auctus there is the possibility of early glosses mixed with later additions, but the pattern is after all very clear, it is about emotionally reading aloud the text of Virgil, just as the over 200 references of how to pronounce the lines of Terence according to Donatus’s commentary” (email message to author, June 16, 2017).

⁵⁰ Ward, “Master William of Champeaux,” p. 43 (emendations in Ward), citing Frederick Ahl’s translation of *Aen.* 4.651 (Lombardo 4.755); the manuscript citations are from York, Cathedral Library MS XVI.M.7.

⁵¹ Geta, in *Seven Medieval Latin Comedies*, trans. Alison Goddard Elliott (New York: Garland, 1984), p. 30; ed. Ferruccio Bertini in *Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo*, Vol. 3 (Genoa: Istituto di Filologia Classica e Medievale, 1980), pp. 139–242, here lines 91–97.

⁵² See Woods, “Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric.”

⁵³ Elliott, *Seven Medieval Latin Comedies*, p. 21; Latin play edited by Franz G. Becker, *Pamphilus de amore* (Ratingen: A. Henn Verlag, 1972), lines 681, 685–87, 689, and 695.

⁵⁴ The *accessus* to the *Achilleid* in this manuscript is discussed in [Chapter 2](#).

⁵⁵ For modern line spacing reflecting the meter, see Becker, *Pamphilus de amore*,

pp. 299–301.

⁵⁶ Drawing on Ovidian echoes at the beginning of the play, “laborantem” has a sexual connotation here.

⁵⁷ “Pamphile, tolle {depone} manus {tuas}....

...

Heu mihi quam paruas {modicas} habet omnis femina uires {modicas uires}

Quam leuiter {quam facilliter} nostras vincis {ligas} vtrasque manus {quod non possum me defendere}.

Pamphile, nostra tuo cur {quare} pectora pectore ledis....

Desine {dimitte} clamabo {volo clamare} quid agis {que vis facere} male detegor {diuidor} a te {leuas vestimenta mea}....

Huius uictor eris facti {quod vicens nunc potes facere queris, licet ipsa {Galatea} reluctar {luctans laborantem}....”

(ÖNB Cod. 3114, fol. 210r, lines 8, 12–14, 16, 22)

⁵⁸ {Anus dicit pamphilo et galathee sic [ut] }

{Il [= L] oquitur pamphilus ad galatheam virginem}

{Galatea ad pam < philum > loquitur}

{Pamphilus ad galatheam}

{Galatea loquitur pam < philo > }

{lloquitur pamphilus galatee}

{lloquitur galatea pamphilo}

{lloquitur pamphilus ad galateam}.

(ÖNB Cod. 3114, fols. 209v–210r)

The names of the speakers and recipients sometimes lack abbreviation marks.

⁵⁹ {Achilles violat deidamiam}

{Qualiter se habuit deidamia violata vociferando}

{Achilles solatur ipsam deidamiam violatam ortans [= hortans] illam ne timeat extollendo se}

{Qualiter se habuit deidamia post verba acchillis dubitans quid ageret /}

{Qualiter patefacit struprum nutrici sue /}

(BL Add. 17404, fol. 229v)

⁶⁰ Woods, “Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric,” pp. 73–74.

⁶¹ Clayton Stromburger, on teaching a “4th grade ‘Romeo and Juliet’” in the University of Texas Children’s Shakespeare Workshop, writes, “The kid’s death moment as Paris always both tickles and touches me” (email message to author, July 28, 2014). See the scene at <https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/winedale/Programs/Outreach/Media.php>.

⁶² Scott McMillin, “Middleton’s Theatres,” in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 74–87, here 77.

⁶³ Carol Chillington Rutter, “Playing with Boys on Middleton’s Stage—and Ours,” *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, ed. Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford, 2012), pp. 98–115, here 100. See also Rutter, *Shakespeare and Child’s Play: Performing Lost Boys on Stage and Screen* (New York: Routledge, 2007); and Kathryn Rebecca Van Winkle, “‘Then Speak, Aeneas, with Achilles’ Tongue’: *Ethopoeia* and Elizabethan Boyhood in Marlowe’s *Dido Queen of Carthage*,” *Theatre*

⁶⁴ Cf. Evelyn B. Tribble, *Cognition in the Globe: Attention and Memory in Shakespeare's Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), especially "Action: Gesture, Encoding, and Performance," pp. 85–110.

⁶⁵ *Partes orationis* glosses are applied to several speeches in Books 1 and 4 of the *Aeneid* in BL Add. 17404 but to none in Books 2 and 3.

⁶⁶ The same omission occurs soon after in the glosses to Venus's plea to Jupiter in this manuscript, where it is noted: {**Confirmatio sine confutatio**<ne> [**confutatio MS**] } next to *Aen.* 1.242 (BL Add. 17404, fol. 46v). In this manuscript speeches are identified as both "oratio," as at Juno's speech to Aeolus on fol. 44r, and "arenga," as at the speech of Ilioneus to Dido, fol. 51, and also on fols. 52r, 53r, etc. "Arenga," etymologically related to "harangue," is found in other manuscripts of the *Aeneid*; for example, at Juno's speech to Aeolus on fol. 2r of Oxford, Bodleian Library C 135, one of several speeches so identified in that manuscript. See also Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, pp. 136n184, 140, and 149, and below, note 71.

⁶⁷ {**Sermo pertinet ad exordium narrationem et diuisionem. Contentio pertinet ad confirmationem et confutationem. Amplificatio pertinet ad conclusionem.**} (ÖNB Cod. 3147, fol. 82r).

⁶⁸ "plenis faucibus quam sedatissima et depressissima voce <uti> conveniet; ita tamen, ut ne ab oratoria consuetudine ad tragicam transeamus" (*Rhet. Her.* 3.14.24).

⁶⁹ "vocum varietates opus sunt, ut, quo qui <d>que pacto gestum sit, ita narrare <e> videatur" (*Rhet. Her.* 3.14.24). The description of the various kinds of Conversational Tone, especially the Narrative, are quite detailed and worth attention, especially for longer *narrationes* than this one.

⁷⁰ "adaucto mediocriter sono voci <s> ... et celeriter cum clamore verba conficere, ut vim volubilem orationis vociferatio consequi possit" (*Rhet. Her.* 3.14.25).

⁷¹ In Biblioteca della Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana 43 G 22 (Rossi 375), this speech is identified as {**A speech of Aeneas to his companions exhorting them / Arenga enee ad socios exortando eos**} (fol. 28r). On "arenga" see above, note 66. On this manuscript see Armando Petrucci, *Catalogo sommario dei manoscritti del Fondo Rossi, Sezione Corsiniana* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1977), p. 179.

⁷² "voce atten <ua> tissima, clamore leni, sono aequabili, ... maxima celeritate" (*Rhet. Her.* 3.14.25).

⁷³ {**Exordium**} {**Narratio**} {**petitio**} {**Confirmat**} {**Conclusio**} (BL 17404, fol. 46r).

⁷⁴ "paulolum corpus a cervicibus demitemus: nam est hoc datum ut quam proxime tum <v>ultum admoveamus ad auditores, si quam rem docere eos et vehementer instigare velimus" (*Rhet. Her.* 3.15.26).

⁷⁵ {**Capitulum tertium**} (BL Add. 17404, fol. 227v). The chapters of the *Achilleid* in this manuscript are summarized at the beginning of each book, and the line numbers are identified in Jeudy and Riou, "L'*Achilléide* de Stace," 179–80.

⁷⁶ David Anderson, *Before the Knight's Tale: Imitation of Classical Epic in Boccaccio's Teseida* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), p. 144.

⁷⁷ The page facing Aeneas's speech (not included in [Image 3.4](#)) of the same manuscript also begins with a gloss identifying the third chapter {**3^m. c^m.**} of Book 1 of the *Aeneid* (fol. 45v). A chapter division {**quintum capitulum**} in another manuscript of the *Achilleid* (BL Harley 2560) is reproduced in [Image 2.3](#).

⁷⁸ {**oratio**} {**Narratio**} {**peti**<**tio**>} {**nar**<**ratio**>} (BL Add. 17404, fol.

⁷⁹ See Woods, “Rhetoric, Gender,” 120–21.

⁸⁰ **{Confutatio} {Confirmatio} {Conclusio}** (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30, fol. 154r [155r in additional foliation]).

⁸¹ **{Calcas receptit spiritum febi}** (BL Add. 17404, fol. 227v).

⁸² **{Verba apollinis dicta per Calcantem}** (BL Add. 17404, fol. 227v).

⁸³ **{Deidamia docet accillem actus muliebres}** (BL Add. 17404, fol. 228v).

⁸⁴ For references to sixteenth-century performances of plays about Dido or mentions of Dido, most by students at university, see the *Records of Early English Drama* volumes on *Chester*, ed. Lawrence M. Clopper (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1979), lviii and 73; *Cambridge*, ed. Alan H. Nelson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 1.230, 231, 235, 237, 239, 244, and 2.713, 721, 929, 971; *Oxford*, ed. John R. Elliott, Jr., Alan H. Nelson, Alexandra Johnston, and Diana Wyatt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 1.191 and 2.809, 849, 882, and 1105.

⁸⁵ See George A. Kennedy, ed. and trans., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), p. xi.

⁸⁶ See the important work of Lynn Enterline in *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), especially the evocatively titled Chapter 5: “What’s Hecuba to Him?” Transferring Woe in *Hamlet*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and *The Winter’s Tale*; also Andrew Wallace, “What’s Hecuba to Him?: Pain, Privacy, and the Ancient Text,” in *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Donald Beecher and Grant Williams (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), pp. 231–43.

⁸⁷ Translation adapted from F. J. Sheed, *The Confessions of St. Augustine* (New York: Hackett Publishing Co., 1993), p. 18. “[P]roponebatur enim mihi negotium, animae meae satis inquietum ... ut dicerem verba Iunonis irascentis et dolentis, quod non posset Italia Teucrorum avertere regem, quae numquam Iunonem dixisse audieram. Sed figmentorum poeticorum vestigia errantes sequi cogebar, et tale aliquid dicere solutis verbis quale poeta dixisset versibus. Et ille dicebat laudabilis in quo pro dignitate adumbratae personae irae ac doloris similior affectus eminebat, verbis sententias congruenter vestientibus” (Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. James J. O’Donnell [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992] 1.17.27). Note the echo of the play on meanings of the verb “errare” (“to wander” as well as “to err”), which Augustine also evokes in his earlier description of responding to Dido and Aeneas, quoted at the very beginning of [Chapter 1](#).

⁸⁸ William Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 280.

⁸⁹ Augustine, *Quaestiones*, ed. Almut Zutzenbecher, CSEL 44/1, 2.159–66; and cf. *Retractiones*, ed. Almut Zutzenbecher, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 57 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 1.26 (25), p. 77.67–70. See also the discussion of Attributes of Characters in [Chapter 2](#). For the use of Cicero’s Attributes to analyze positive and negative interpretations of Dido during the renaissance, see Marjorie Curry Woods, “The Classroom as Courtroom: Cicero’s Attributes of Persons and the Interpretation of Classical Literary Characters in the Renaissance,” *Ciceroniana: Atti del XIII Colloquium Tullianum, Milano, 27–29 marzo 2008* (Rome: Centro di Studi Ciceroniani, 2009), pp. 203–15, here 210–15.

⁹⁰ Manfred Kraus suggests that Augustine’s earlier description of being “forced” to weep for Dido may refer to an assignment to compose a speech either in her voice or in the voice of someone lamenting her death (“Rehearsing the Other Sex: Impersonation of Women in Ancient Classroom Ethopoeia,” in *Escuela y Literatura en*

Grecia Antigua: *Actas del Simposio Internacional Universidad de Salamanca*, 17–19 Noviembre de 2004, ed. José Antonio Fernández Delgado, Francisca Pordomingo, and Antonio Stramaglia [Cassino: Edizioni dell'Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2007], pp. 455–68, here 458–59). See also Marjorie Curry Woods, “Weeping for Dido: Epilogue on a Premodern Rhetorical Exercise in the Postmodern Classroom,” in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. Carol Dana Lanham (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 284–94.

⁹¹ Quintilian, *The Orator's Education: Institutiones oratoriae*, trans. Donald A. Russell, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 139.

⁹² For the textbooks see Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*; for examples by a master teacher, see *Libanius's Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, trans. Craig A. Gibson (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008); one of Libanius's model exercises is discussed in [Chapter 2](#).

⁹³ Aphthonius's work emerged as the standard textbook in the sixth century (*The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric: Classroom Exercises*, ed. and trans. Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002], p. 203). It was widely used by teachers during the Early Modern period, particularly in sixteenth-century Latin translations and adaptations.

⁹⁴ Priscian the Grammarian, *Fundamentals Adapted from Hermogenes*, trans. Joseph M. Miller, in *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. Joseph M. Miller, Michael H. Prosser, and Thomas W. Benson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), pp. 52–68, here 64; *Prisciani praexercitamina ex Hermogene versa*, in *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. Karl Halm (Leipzig, 1863, rpt. Dubuque, Iowa: Brown Reprint Library, [n.d.]), pp. 551–60, here 557 (9.27).

⁹⁵ Manfred Kraus, “Grammatical and Rhetorical Exercises in the Medieval Classroom,” in *New Medieval Literatures* 11 (2009): 63–89, here 68 and Appendix I, 86–87.

⁹⁶ Richard Rainolde, *The Foundacion of Rhetorike* (London: John Kingston, 1563), introd. Francis R. Johnson (rpt. New York: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1945), fol. 1[50]v. On the use of Aphthonius by teachers in England during the Early Modern period, see Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, passim; and also Tanya Pollard, “What's Hecuba to Shakespeare?” *Renaissance Quarterly* 65.4 (2012): 1060–93; and Wallace, “What's Hecuba to Him?”.

⁹⁷ The following two paragraphs are based on the “Répertoire complet” in Eugenio Amato and Gianluca Ventrella, “L'Éthopée dans la pratique scolaire et littéraire,” in Eugenio Amato and Jacques Schamp, eds, *ῬΗΘΡΟΠΟΙΑ. La représentation de caractères entre fiction scolaire et réalité vivante à l'époque impériale et tardive* (Salerno: Helios, 2005), pp. 213–31. The division into “Éthopées littéraires” and “Éthopées scolaires” is by Amato and Ventrella. An unpublished translation of their Greek and Latin titles is available upon request from Manfred Kraus and Marjorie Curry Woods. Examples of the exercise up to the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries are listed in Amato and Ventrella's first footnote, p. 213.

⁹⁸ On the practice in Old English, see Margaret Schlauch, “‘The Dream of the Rood’ as Prosopopoeia,” in *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown*, ed. P. W. Long (New York: New York University Press, 1940), pp. 23–34.

⁹⁹ Kraus, “Rehearsing the Other Sex,” p. 457.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., Kraus, “Grammatical and Rhetorical Exercises,” p. 75.

¹⁰¹ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, ed. Edmond Faral, in *Les Arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle: Recherches de documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge* (Paris: É. Champion, 1924; repr. 1962), lines 155–202, 613–20, 1098–1217; trans. Margaret F. Nims, 2nd Edition revised by Martin Camargo (Toronto: Pontifical

¹⁰² See Martin Camargo and Marjorie Curry Woods, “Writing Instruction in Late Medieval Europe,” in James J. Murphy, ed., *A Short History of Writing Instruction from Ancient Greece to Contemporary America*, 3rd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 114–47; Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, passim; and Manfred Kraus, “*Progymnasmata* and Progymnasmatic Exercises in the Medieval Classroom,” in *The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom: The Role of Ancient Texts in the Arts Curriculum as Revealed by Surviving Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys, John O. Ward, and Melanie Heyworth (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 175–97, here 189–92. A number of what may be the echoes of extant medieval school exercises differ from Augustine’s assignment in one important respect, however: many are short exempla or narrative abbreviations that illustrate specific rhetorical devices and techniques.

¹⁰³ See, for example, publications by the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin, Center for the History of Emotions, such as *Learning How to Feel: Children’s Literature and the History of Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970*, by Ute Frevert, Pascal Eitler, Stephanie Olsen, Uffa Jensen, Margrit Pernau, Daniel Brückenhaus, Magdalena Beljan, Benno Gammerl, Anja Laukötter, Bettina Hitzer, Jan Plamper, Juliane Brauer, and Joachim C. Häberlein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Also related are the blog by Melissa Raine, “Big Emotions in the Classroom,” in *Histories of Emotion: From Medieval Europe to Contemporary Australia* (June 1, 2016), <https://historiesofemotion.com/2016/06/01/big-emotions-in-the-classroom/>, and her current research project, “Affect and the Child’s Voice in Middle English Narrative,” www.historyofemotions.org.au/research/research-projects/affect-and-the-childs-voice-in-middle-english-narrative.aspx. The collection *Affect, Emotion, and Children’s Literature: Representation and Socialisation in Texts for Children and Young Adults*, eds. Kristine Moruzi, Michelle J. Smith, and Elizabeth Bullen (New York: Routledge, 2017), contains an essay on “From Virtue Ethics to Emotional Intelligence: Advice from Medieval Parents to Their Children,” by Juanita Feros Ruys, pp. 19–32.

¹⁰⁴ Not all of these items on individual images are discussed in the chapters.

¹⁰⁵ See online at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek website the very elegant *manicula* and marginal identification of an “exclamation by the poet against love” (“Exclamatio a poeta contra amorem”) at *Aen.* 4.412 (Lombardo 4.477): “improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!” “Cruel Love, what do you not force human hearts to bear” (CIm 305, fol. 106r).

¹⁰⁶ In *Forensic Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), Quentin Skinner explores Shakespeare’s command of judicial rhetoric and classical legal argumentation. According to Skinner, Shakespeare “was closely acquainted with the arguments of the *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium* about how to construct forensic speeches, and he sometimes directly quotes them” (pp. 46–47). Shakespeare’s complex use of *insinuatio*, *narratio*, and especially *confirmatio* as examined by Skinner could also, I would suggest, support my emphasis on the performative aspects of the analysis of speeches according to the *partes orationis* in medieval schools.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., on men debating performing the female role of Antigone inside prison, see Rush Rehm, “‘If You are a Woman’: Theatrical Womanizing in Sophocles’ *Antigone* and Fugard, Kani, and Ntshona’s *The Island*,” *Classics in Post-Colonial Worlds*, ed. Lorna Hardwick and Carol Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 211–27. I am grateful to Claudio Eduardo Moura de Oliveira for bringing this essay to my attention.

¹⁰⁸ Mary Ann O’Farrell and Lynne Vallone, “Introduction,” in *Virtual Gender*:

Fantasies of Subjectivity and Embodiment, eds. O'Farrell and Vallone (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 2. Judith Butler's use of "performativity" in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1994) should resonate with the type of temporary acting out that I'm asking us to recognize, although, according to Seyla Benhabib, Butler "clarified subsequently that she had meant by 'performativity' not a dramaturgical but a linguistic model" ("Sexual Difference and Collective Identities: The New Constellation," in *Virtual Gender*, pp. 217–43, here 219).

¹⁰⁹ The fictionality of both the male and female characters expressing strong emotions appears to have been more distressing than gender to Augustine (*Conf.* 1.13, 1.16–17).

¹¹⁰ See Christopher de Hamel, "The *Carmina Burana*," in *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts: Twelve Journeys into the Medieval World* (New York: Penguin Press, 2017), pp. 330–75 and 594–95, here 359.

¹¹¹ The manuscript is digitized on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The home page for the library can be found at <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/en/>. On this manuscript see Günter Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern: Clm 4501–4663* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), pp. 300–04; and de Hamel, "The *Carmina Burana*." The standard edition, from which the standard formatting and numbering is taken, is Otto Schumann, ed., *Carmina Burana* 1.2, *Die Liebeslieder* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1941), pp. 125–65 for CB 97–102; hereafter cited as Schumann, *Die Liebeslieder*. These poems were translated by E. D. Blodgett and Roy Arthur Swanson in *The Love Songs of the Carmina Burana* (New York: Garland, 1987), pp. 111–27. Now, however, there is a new edition and translation by David A. Traill, *Carmina Burana* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018); for these poems see 1.410–45. See also Ziolkowski, *Nota bene*, p. 235n25.

¹¹² The first is by Peter Riga; the second is Dido's epitaph from Ovid's *Heroides*, 7.195–96 (Traill, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 1.562).

¹¹³ Heike Sigrid Lammers, "The Planctus Repertory in the *Carmina Burana*," in *The Echo of Music: Essays in Honor of Marie Louise Göllner*, ed. Blair Sullivan (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004), pp. 75–99, here 81 and 87. Unheighted neumes do not have staff or clef to indicate pitch or relative height of notes.

¹¹⁴ The translation is that of Blodgett and Swanson, "Love Songs," p. 115. "SUPERBI. Paridis leue iudicium helene species amata nimium fit casus troie deponens ilium" (Clm 4660, fol. 74r). For a discussion and transcription of the neumes in CB 99, see Lammers, "The Planctus Repertory," p. 82.

¹¹⁵ {Armat amor par <idem>
vvl̃t tindařidem. Rap <it>
illam <R>es patet <hos>
tis adest pugna <tur> menia cedunt.}

CB 99a, adopting the emendations of Schumann, *Die Liebeslieder*, p. 134, where the ends of the lines are cut off in the manuscript (Clm 4660, fol. 74r). The space before "es" was probably left for a later "R" to be added in red, like the "A" of "Armat," identifying the first word of the second line of the couplet.

¹¹⁶ See Traill, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 1.561 on the last ten stanzas, which he retains. Otto Schumann edits them in his notes, *Die Liebeslieder*, p. 133. For a discussion of the possible conclusions and divisions based on linguistic evidence, see Olive Sayce, *Plurilingualism in the Carmina Burana: A Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1992), pp. 169–70.

Prebuit eneas**causam mortis. et e<nsem >****Illa sua dido co<n >****cidit usa man <u >.]**

(CB 99b, Clm 4660, fol. 75r)

118 “O ensis perfide fortiter ilia mea pertransiens deme suspiria amantes miseri timete talia” (CB 99, Clm 4660, fol. 74v).

119 On their authorship, see above, note 112. As Traill notes about the presumably added stanzas of the poem itself, “The Aeneas who emerges from these stanzas is a decidedly more likable, sensitive, and ‘modern’ character than Virgil’s Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4” (*Carmina Burana* 1.561).

120 See the section in the *Poetria nova* on abbreviation (and that on amplification for the added lines expanding on Aeneas’s remorse), lines 690–736 and 219–689 respectively; also Martin Camargo, “Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s Memorial Verses,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 56 (2012): 81–119, esp. 96–100; Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, pp. 66–67 and 72–73; Camargo and Woods, “Writing Instruction,” p. 123; and Jan Ziolkowski, ed. and trans., *The Cambridge Songs* (*Carmina Cantabrigiensia*) (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), p. 211.

121 Peter Dronke, “Dido’s Lament from Medieval Latin Lyric to Chaucer,” in *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1992), pp. 431–56. See also in Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds., *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 528–35.

122 Dronke, “Dido’s Lament,” pp. 431–38. This poem is found in two additional manuscripts.

123 Marina Warner, “Forget My Fate,” first published in a collection of stories based on opera entitled *Midsummer Nights* edited by Jeanette Winterson (London: Quercus, 2009), pp. 273–93, here 287; a revised edition has appeared in *Fly Away Home* (Cromer: Salt, 2015), pp. 132–47, here 146.

124 Traill, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 1.560.

125 “antro sub duce latuit eique se supposuit” (Clm 4660, fol. 74r), translating the version in the manuscript rather than adopting the traditional emendations. For an edited version with translation see Traill, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 1.420–21.

126 Lammers, “Planctus Repertory,” with a transcription of the neumes on p. 81.

127 Dronke, “Dido’s Lament,” 440.

128 “Propositionibus tribus dux oppositis sylogizat motibus fallit hec oppositis et quamvis cogentibus argumentis utitur tamen eis breuibz tantum horis fallitur” (Clm 4660, fol. 74r). Cf. the translations of Blodgett and Swanson, *Love Songs*, p. 114; and Traill, *Carmina Burana*, 1.421–23.

129 Traill, ed., *Carmina Burana*, 1.560.

130 Dronke, “Dido’s Lament,” p. 440.

131 Dronke’s translation is also based on the manuscript (“Dido’s Lament,” p. 440n18).

132 “Et sic amborum in coniugio leta resplenduit etherea regia nam ad amoris gaudia ridet clarescunt O M N I A” (Clm 4660, fol. 74r).

133 Winthrop Wetherbee describes the poem as “a narrative pervaded by allusions to Dido’s reckless generosity and forebodings of her destruction....” He continues, “[T]he universe of this lyric is indelibly inscribed with the history of

human error and its seeming beneficence and harmony are deeply ambiguous” (“The Place of Secular Latin Lyric,” in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), pp. 95–125, here 102 and 103. In the same vein, Lammers emphasizes the “planctus” or lamenting tone of both CB 98 and 99, and she describes CB 98 as “A Latin lai on the painful ‘furor amoris’ of the madly loving Queen of Carthage, Dido” (“Planctus Repertory,” p. 81).

¹³⁴ Dronke calls the ending “an exultant celebration of Dido’s love; it concludes with the love-union in the cavern and does not look beyond” (“Dido’s Lament,” p. 440). Loren Michael Cressler suggests that this interpretation may align with the ending of Christopher Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander*, which appears to be intentionally incomplete for the same reasons (email message to author, April 27, 2017).

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Index Locorum

Anonymous

Rhetorica ad Herennium

1.6.4, [66](#)

3.12–13, [115](#)

3.14–15, [117–18](#), [130–31](#)

Augustine of Hippo

Confessions

1.13.20–21, [13](#)

Baebius Italicus

Ilias latina

320–38, [88–90](#)

417–23, [92](#)

474–85, [93](#)

805–11, [136–37](#)

955–56, [93](#)

1042, [100](#)

1057–62, [100](#)

Cicero (M. Tullius Cicero)

De Inventione

1.23, [20](#)

1.24, [90](#), [144](#)

1.24–25, [139](#)

1.25, [62](#), [67](#), [99](#)

Dante Alighieri

Purgatorio

9.34–42, [50](#)

Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus)

Ars Poetica

121–22, [61n29](#), [111](#)

Quintilian

Institutio Oratoria

3.8.50, [139–40](#)

Statius (P. Papinius Statius)

Achilleid

1.1–197, [63](#)

1.4–7, [57–58](#)

1.198–396, [64–65](#)

1.247–50, [49–51](#)
1.252–74, [65–68](#)
1.266–77, [68](#)
1.293–96, [69–71](#)
1.307–09, [71](#)
1.350–62, [71](#), [73–74](#)
1.397–674, [74–75](#)
1.496–513, [132–34](#)
1.515–35, [135–36](#)
1.580–82, [136](#)
1.588–91, [75](#)
1.624–44, [76–77](#)
1.662–70, [78](#)
1.675–960, [78–79](#)
1.835–38, [79](#)
1.856–57, [79](#)
1.904, [80](#)
1.932–36, [80](#)
1.954–55, [80](#)
2.1–167, [81–82](#)
2.11–31, [82–83](#)
2.96–100, [85](#)
2.96–165, [60](#)
2.125, [85](#)
2.167, [85](#)

Virgil (P. Vergilius Maro)

Aeneid

1.37–49, [138](#)
1.198–207, [128–31](#)
1.588–89, [16–17](#)
1.628–32, [19](#), [31](#)
1.748–49, [31–32](#)
2.776–89, [24–25](#)
2.790–94, [25–26](#)
3.718, [31–32](#)
4.305–08, [4–11](#)
4.314–24, [40–41](#)
4.327–30, [115–16](#)
4.354–60, [42–45](#)
4.368–78, [45–46](#)
4.384–87, [116](#)
6.450–76, [21n30](#)
6.884, [31n58](#)

Manuscript Index

Austin, Harry Ransom Center HRC 29, [38n75](#)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Diez. B Sant. 4, [54–56](#)

Ham. 608, [86](#)

Ham. 678, [23–24](#), [26](#), [41–46](#), [145](#)

Phill. 1992, [104–11](#)

London, British Library

Add. 10090, [60](#)

Add. 10095, [59n22](#)

Add. 11996, [51](#)

Add. 15477, [99n122](#)

Add. 17404, [19–21](#), [23](#), [51](#), [58](#), [77](#), [124–36](#), [145](#)

Add. 21910, [15](#), [17](#)

Add. 21213, [54n14](#)

Add. 22314, [51–52](#), [54n14](#), [65–66](#), [98](#)

Burney 273, [29–32](#)

Harley 2560, [54n14](#), [67](#), [71–74](#), [87–89](#), [92–93](#), [99–102](#), [132n77](#), [145](#)

Harley 2744, [26–27](#), [32n61](#), [58](#), [83–84](#), [86](#), [116](#)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

Clm 261, [17](#), [19](#)

Clm 391, [52](#), [60](#), [67–68](#)

Clm 4660, [i](#), [21–22](#), [137](#), [147–52](#)

Clm 14496, [94–96](#)

Clm 18059, [38–42](#)

Clm 21562, [17–19](#)

Clm 22314, [51](#)

Clm 28824, [97–98](#)

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Auct. F. 2. 6, [36–37](#), [145](#)

Auct. F. 2. 14, [54n14](#)

Lat. Class. e. 47, [64–65](#)

Rawl. G. 57, [90–92](#)

Oxford, Lincoln College

Lat. 27, [ii](#), [57–58](#), [63–64](#), [77–78](#), [145](#)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 3088, [38](#)

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 685, [4–6](#), [10–11](#), [40–41](#)

Rome, Biblioteca della Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana

43 E 9 (Rossi 121), [16](#), [25](#), [29n53](#)

43 G 22 (Rossi 375), [131n71](#)

Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 30, [69–71](#), [76–77](#), [134](#), [145](#)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. Lat. 1663, [52n7](#)

Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana Zan. lat. 541, [60–61](#), [66–67](#)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Cod. 153, [54n14](#)

Cod. 267, [54n14](#)

Cod. 3104, [18–19](#), [145](#)

Cod. 3114, [62–63](#), [98–99](#), [121–24](#), [145](#)

Cod. 3147, [113–16](#), [129–30](#)

Cod. 13685, [67–68](#)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

Cod. Guelf 13.10 Aug. 4°, [60](#)

Cod. Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, [64n36](#), [69](#), [74](#), [76–81](#), [83](#)

Cod. Guelf. 65 Aug. 2°, [60](#)

Cod. Guelf. 228 Gud. lat. 4°, [75–76](#)

Cod. Guelf. 292.2 Gud. lat. 8°, [81–82](#)

Cod. Guelf. Extrav. 301, [54n14](#), [80](#), [83](#)

York, Cathedral Library XVI.M.7, [119](#)

General Index

abandonment: of Achilles, 52–53; of Creusa and Dido, 26; and emotions, 52–53; schoolboys' attraction to, 26–27; of women, 52

Acessus Homeri, 97–98

Achilleid, 11, 49–86, 131–33; and the *Aeneid*, 50–51, 56; appeal to adolescent boys, 54; book divisions of, 58–59, 63; diffusion and history of, 2, 53, 58; and the *Ilias latina*, 54–56, 90; length of, 53–54; rhetorical analysis of, 132–35; as school text, 2, 50–51, 58; scope and subject matter of, 57–60, 81–82

Achilles: boyhood of, 51, 62; compared to Patroclus, 76; cross-dressing by, 2, 11, 48–50, 82–83, 86, 135; Dante on, 50–52; death of, 81; and Deidamia, 69–71, 75–76, 80, 83; Deidamia raped by, 76–78, 121, 124–26; education of, 62, 64, 85; emotions of, 51–52; femininity of, 76; and gender, 49–50; *habitus* of, 79; hiding and discovery of, 132–36; Horace on, 111; in the *Ilias latina*, 96, 103; masculinity of, 61, 66–67, 74, 79, 81, 86; mentors of, 60–63, 81; and Penthesilea, 98; vulnerability of, 51–52

Aeneas: abandoned by Creusa, 26–27; Dido addressed by, 36, 38–39, 41, 116; Dido's rebuke of, 44–45; Dido's welcome of, 16–18; in the *Ilias latina*, 93; in medieval lyric, 148–49; as narrator, 19; shipmates addressed by, 128–31; wanderings of, 21–24

Aeneid, 1–2; and the *Achilleid*, 50–51, 56; Augustine's reaction to, 13–15, 22, 30, 47; fall of Troy in, 54, 56. *See also* Aeneas; Dido

affectiones, of Juno, 139. *See also* *Attributa personarum*

Agamemnon, 87, 92, 96

Alcmena, 120

allegory, as mode of interpretation, 4, 48

Amato, E., 141

amplificatio (Tone of Amplification), 115–16. *See also* rhetoric; tones

Anchises, 29, 44–45; death of, 31–32

Anderson, H., 53, 58n20

Andromache, lament and grief of, 11, 100–103, 109–10, 141

Anna, Dido's speech to, 20

Aphthonius (rhetorician), 140–41

Apollo, 135–36

Attributa personarum (Attributes of Characters), Ciceronian, 61–62, 67, 85–86, 90, 99, 139. *See also* *habitus*; *natura*

Augustine: classical education of, 13–15, 22–23, 30n56; emotional reaction to the *Aeneid*, 13–15, 22, 30, 47; emotional reaction to Dido, 1, 13–15, 22–23, 33–35, 48, 137, 150; emotional reaction to Juno, 137–39; rhetorical training of, 138, 143

Baebius Italicus, 53. *See also* *Ilias latina*

Benhabib, S., [146n108](#)
 Black, R., [93–94](#)
 Bond, G., [104–5](#)
 Bonner, G., [47](#)
 Bourdieu, P., [71n55](#)
 Brinkmann, H., [109](#)
 Brown, Peter, [14](#)
 Bulst, W., [108](#)
 Butler, J., [146n108](#)

Calchas, in the *Achilleid*, [74](#), [132–36](#)
 Camargo, M., [111n25](#), [112–14](#)
Carmina Burana, [150–51](#)
 Cartlidge, T., [32n62](#)
 Castor and Pollux, [89](#)
 casualty lists, for the Trojan War, [98–99](#)
 Ceci, S., [28n45](#)
 centaurs, [63](#). *See also* [Chiron](#)
 Chaucer, glosses on, [35](#)
 Chiron, [51](#), [59](#), [61](#), [64–65](#), [68–69](#), [82–83](#), [103](#), [135](#); Achilles' shame toward, [68–69](#); as mentor, [68](#), [81](#), [85](#); as rival of Thetis, [64](#)
 Cicero, M. Tullius: attributes of characters in, [57](#), [61–62](#), [67](#), [85–86](#), [90](#), [99](#), [139](#); on *habitus*, [71](#); on rhetoric, [20](#), [67](#). *See also* [rhetoric](#); *Rhetorica ad Herennium*
 Clogan, P., [52n7](#), [59](#)
 comedies, medieval, [112](#), [119–20](#); glosses on, [112](#); performance of, [119–20](#)
comparationes. *See* [similes](#)
 composition exercises, medieval, [143](#)
conclusio (conclusion), [66](#), [73](#). *See also* [partes orationis](#); [rhetoric](#)
confirmatio (support for argument), [66](#), [73](#). *See also* [partes orationis](#); [rhetoric](#)
confutatio (consideration of opposing arguments), [66](#), [68](#), [73](#). *See also* [partes orationis](#); [rhetoric](#)
contentio (tone of debate), [115](#). *See also* [rhetoric](#); [tones](#)
 Copeland, R., [67n44](#)
 Cressler, L. M., [152n134](#)
 Creusa, abandonment and death of, [23–26](#), [29](#), [31](#); Aeneas' connection to, [41](#); Augustine's reaction to, [23](#); speech of, [24–26](#)
 cross-dressing, by Achilles, [2](#), [11](#), [48–50](#), [82–83](#), [86](#), [135](#). *See also* [Achilleid](#); [gender](#); [masculinity](#)
 Crowley, Abraham, [23n33](#)
 Cupid, in the *Aeneid*, [16](#), [19](#)

Dante, on Achilles, [50–52](#)
 Dares the Phrygian, [98](#), [99](#)
 Deidamia (*Achilleid*), [69–71](#), [75–76](#), [80](#), [83](#); fears for Achilles, [80–81](#); rape of, [76–68](#), [121](#), [124](#), [126](#)
 Dido: abandonment of, [26–27](#); Aeneas' responsibilities toward, [42](#); Augustine's pity for, [1](#), [13–15](#), [22–23](#), [33–35](#), [48](#), [137](#), [150](#); cave scene with Aeneas, [21](#); emotional reactions to, [15](#), [19–20](#), [22–23](#); feelings of, [35](#), [86](#); first appearance in *Aeneid*, [15–](#)

16; glosses on, 4–5; happy ending for, 151–52; internal audience for, 45–46; in medieval lyric, 148–52; laments by, 117; laments for, 150; *miseratio* of, 30–32; performance of speeches of, 117–19; reaction to Aeneas' speech, 44–45; reception history of, 15n10; schoolboys' response to, 2, 10–11, 13, 27, 33–36, 86; speeches of, 7, 16, 38–41, 113–19; suicide of, 11, 21–22, 30–32, 52, 147, 150

Diomedes: in the *Achilleid*, 58, 59, 60, 78–79, 83; in the *Ilias latina*, 93

Dissanayake, E., 111n26

division, as commentary technique, 73, 96–97, 131–32

Donatus, Aelius, 31n58

dramatization, of texts. *See* performance

Dronke, P., 102, 109, 110, 150, 151–52

education: and abandonment, 52; of Achilles, 62, 64, 85; and adult behavior, 34–35; of Augustine, 14, 22–23, 30n56; and close reading, 47; depth vs. breadth in, 14, 143; and disorientation, 52; and emotion, 28–29; as escape from outside world, 35; oral components of, 14; sex segregation in, 35, 137. *See also* performance; rhetoric

Elliot, A. G., 121

emotion: and abandonment, 52; aroused by reading, 22–23; displayed by Achilles, 51–52; displayed by Dido, 35; and fantasy, 146–47; and fiction, 33–35; and gendered performance, 2, 111, 128; glosses on, 8–9; history of, 3; manufactured vs. real, 22–23, 111, 144; and memory, 28–29, 33–34, 53, 111; as pedagogical tool, 3, 27–29, 111

erotic material: glosses on, 57, 77–78; in schoolboy performances, 127

ethopoeia, 139–43; gendered aspects of, 142–43; subjects for, 141–42

exordium (introduction), 20, 65–66. *See also* *partes orationis*; rhetoric

Fama (Rumor), Virgil's personification of, 21

fiction, and emotion, 33–35

fortuna, as attribute, 99

Fredborg, K. M., 32n60, 119n49

Galathea, rape of, 121–24, 126

gender: in the *Achilleid*, 2, 11, 49–50, 82, 86, 135; and classroom performance, 35, 136, 144–45; and emotion, 2, 128; as exotic, 35; grammatical, 25–26; in the *Ilias latina*, 87; in Marbod of Rennes, 106–8, 110; and the response to Dido, 34

Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 1, 107

Geta (medieval comedy), 120, 126, 127

Glińska, K. A., 112

glosses: in the *Achilleid*, 50, 51, 56–57; attention to detail in, 47; authorship of, 9n8; basic and advanced, 50–51; for clarification, 44; content of, 4, 8–9; on emotions, 27–29, 38–41; erotic material in, 57, 77–78; grammatical, 4, 8, 56–57, 74, 92; as historical and mythic background, 27n41; in the *Ilias latina*, 92; interlinear, 4–6, 8, 23–24, 27, 57; Latin as language of, 5n6; marginal, 92; as lists of names, 23–24; on medieval comedies, 112; on Marbod of Rennes, 107; on patronymics, 88; on performance, 113–19, 136; proverbs identified in, 57, 100; on rape scenes, 123–25; read aloud, 9; as responses to implied questions, 23; similes identified in, 57, 69–71, 75–76; speeches identified in, 36, 44, 145; vernacular, 5n6, 94; on vocabulary, 74

Grafton, A., 27, 30n55

Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri), [46n91](#)

habitus: of Achilles, [66](#), [79](#); Bordieu's definition of, [71n55](#); Ciceronian definition of, [67](#), [71](#). See also *Attributa personarum*; [cross-dressing](#); [gender](#)

Hahn, T., [15n10](#)

Haynes, J., [32n60](#)

Hector: and Andromache, [11](#), [102–3](#); death and funeral of, [99–102](#); laments for, [109](#), [141](#)

Helen, [56](#), [88–89](#), [92](#), [136](#); in medieval lyric, [148](#)

Hermogenes (rhetorician), [140–41](#)

Heslin, P. J., [49](#), [60n27](#), [66n42](#)

Highet, G., [46n90](#)

highlighting, of texts and glosses, [5–6](#), [29](#), [131](#), [144–45](#). See also *maniculae*; [neumes](#); [squiggles](#)

Homer, Virgil's allusions to, [25](#)

Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), [111](#)

hortatory tone, [115–16](#). See also [rhetoric](#); [tones](#)

Hubbell, H. M., [67n44](#)

Hunt, T., [87](#)

Huygens, R. B. C., [97](#)

Ilias latina, [86–103](#), [136–37](#); and the *Achilleid*, [54–56](#), [90](#), [98](#); appeal to adolescent boys, [54](#), [87](#); authorship of, [53](#), [55–56](#); diffusion and popularity of, [2](#), [11](#), [53](#), [94](#); division of, [94–96](#); influenced by the *Iliad*, [99](#), [102–3](#); influenced by Virgil, [87](#); as introductory Latin text, [56](#), [87–88](#); length of, [53–54](#); marginal glosses in, [92](#); narrative technique of, [93](#), [99](#)

illustrations, manuscript: for emotional emphasis, [27](#); as gloss, [27](#), [116](#)

insinuatio (insinuation), [20](#). See also *exordium*; *partes orationis*; [rhetoric](#)

Jaeger, C. Stephen, [109–110](#)

Juno: in the *Aeneid*, [21](#); Augustine's reaction to, [137–39](#); emotions of, [139](#); passion for Jupiter, [75](#)

Jupiter, [75](#), [88](#), [120](#); passion for Juno, [75](#)

Keen, S., [33–35](#)

Kennedy, G., [87n92](#), [92n101](#)

Kraus, M., [139n90](#)

laments: by Andromache, [101–3](#), [109–10](#), [141](#); by Dido, [117](#); for Dido, [150](#); in Marbod of Rennes, [107–8](#)

Lancel, S., [13](#)

Lapiths, [63](#), [85](#), [102–3](#)

Latin, as language of glosses, [5n6](#); teaching of, [3](#), [27](#). See also [education](#); *Ilias latina*

Leichtman, M., [28n45](#)

Libanius (rhetorician), [69](#)

Licentius (friend of Augustine), [47–48](#)

lions, Achilles and, [85](#), [102–3](#)

Little, W., [115n35](#)

Lombardo, Stanley, [5n5](#), [73](#). See also *Achilleid*; *Aeneid*

Lucan (M. Annaeus Lucanus), *Civil War*, 118
 lyric poetry, medieval, 147–49. See also *Carmina Burana*; Marbod of Rennes
maniculae, 99–100, 131, 135, 145. See also highlighting; squiggles
 Marbod of Rennes, 104–110
 Marcellus, in the *Aeneid*, 30–32
 Marlowe, Christopher, 152n134
 masculinity, of Achilles, 61, 66–67, 74, 79, 81, 86. See also *Achilleid*; cross-dressing; gender
 McDonough, C., 32n60
 McGaugh, J. L., 28n44, 29n49
 McKinley, K. L., 87n92, 93
 memory: and education, 14, 28, 30n56; and emotion, 28–29, 33–34, 53, 111
 Mendelsund, P., 110
 Menelaus, 88
 mentors, of Achilles, 60–63, 81
 musical notation. See *neumes*

 Nardini, L., 38n76
narratio (statement of facts), as *pars orationis*, 65–66, 134
 narration, in Marbod of Rennes, 105–6, 108
natura (nature), as attribute of character, 90, 139, 144. See also *Attributa personarum*
 Neoptolemus. See *Pyrrhus*
 neumes, 36–38, 40, 46, 80, 83, 111, 148, 151. See also highlighting
nomen (name), as attribute of character, 90. See also *Attributa personarum*

 Octavia (sister of Augustus), 31
 Odysseus, and Antikleia, 25. See also *Ulysses*
 O’Farrell, M. A., 146n108
 Ornstein, P., 28n45
 Ovid (P. Ovidius Naso): as influence on the *Ilias latina*, 89; in medieval lyric collections, 150

 Palinurus, 30, 31–32
Pamphilus on Love (medieval comedy), 120–21; performance of, 126
 Paris (Trojan prince), 56, 64, 88–89, 92, 136; in medieval lyric, 148
partes orationis, 65, 72–73, 128–31, 134; indicated by glosses, 57, 145. See also *Cicero*; *conclusio*; *confirmatio*; *confutatio*; *exordium*; *insinuatio*
 passions. See *emotion*
 pathos, 11, 115, 117; and slapstick, 126–27
 Patroclus, 136–37; compared to Achilles, 76
 patronymics, glosses on, 88, 90
 pedagogy. See *education*; *Latin*
 Peleus, Achilles’ shame toward, 68
 Penthesilea, 98
 performance: artificiality of, 113, 144; and comedy, 126–27; of composition exercises, 143–44; of Dido’s speeches, 117–19; and emotion, 1–2; exuberant, 136–37; and gender layering, 136, 146–47; glosses concerning, 118–19, 136; reading

as, 1–2, 46, 111–13, 135

petitio (request), as *pars orationis*, 73, 128

Plautus (T. Maccius Plautus), *Amphitryon*, 120

Priam, 99

Priscian (rhetorician), 140–41

progymnasmata, 140–42. See also *rhetoric*

prosopopoeia. See *ethopoeia*

Protesilaus, 74, 131–32

proverbs, identified in glosses, 57, 100

Purcell, Henry, 150

Pyramis and Thisbe, 109

Pyrrhus, 80, 82–83, 98

Quintilian (M. Fabius Quintilianus), 139–40

Rankin, S., 38n76

rape: of Deidamia by Achilles, 59, 76–68, 121, 124, 126; in *Pamphilus on Love*, 121–24; schoolboys' reaction to scenes of, 126

reading, oral, 9–10, 111; in Augustine's circle, 47–48; as group experience, 46–48; as performance, 1–2, 46, 111–13, 135; and visualization, 110

rhetoric, 113–18; Ciceronian, 61, 65–66; Dido's use of, 17, 20–21; of Marbod of Rennes, 105; and performance, 112–13. See also *Attributa personarum*; *partes orationis*

Rhetorica ad Herennium: glosses in, 113–18; on oral performance, 117, 128–31

Rosenwein, B., 3n1

Rutter, C. C., 127n63

Scaffai, M., 53, 89, 93

Schedel, Hartmann, 17, 60

school. See *education*

Scyros, 49, 59, 61, 81

Servius (Virgil commentator), 32–33, 118–19, 199n49

Shakespeare, school productions of, 126–27

similes, glosses' identification of, 57, 69–71, 75–76

speeches: of Aeneas, 36, 38–39; in the *Aeneid*, 16–17, 128–31; of Creusa, 24–26; of Dido, 7, 16, 38–41, 113–19; glosses identifying, 35–36, 44, 145

squiggles, framing, 5n4, 18, 27, 36, 128, 135, 145. See also *highlighting*; *maniculae*

Statius (P. Papinius Statius). See *Achilleid*

Stromburger, C., 127n61

theater, at single-sex schools, 146. See also *gender*; *performance*; *reading*

Thetis, 49–50, 51, 60, 61, 63, 64, 80, 85, 135; Achilles dipped in Styx by, 68; and Achilles' *habitus*, 67; *confutatio* of, 68; *narratio* of, 66; rhetorical analysis of, 73–74; worry about Achilles, 59, 63–65

tones, of speech, 113–16, 131, 134. See also *partes orationis*; *performance*; *reading*; *rhetoric*

Traill, D. A., 149n119, 150, 151

Tristan, death of, 109

Trojan Horse, [23](#)

Trojan War: casualty lists for, [98–99](#); start of, [83](#). *See also* [Helen](#); [Paris](#)

Trojans, *Ilias latina*'s focus on, [87](#)

Troy: fall of, [19](#), [23](#), [54](#); flight from, [23](#)

Ulysses: in the *Achilleid*, [58](#), [59](#), [60](#), [61](#), [78–79](#), [83](#); in the *Ilias latina*, [87](#)

Vallone, L., [146m108](#)

Ventrella, G., [141](#)

Venus, in the *Aeneid*, [16](#), [19](#), [21](#), [44–45](#)

victus (manner of life), as attribute, [62](#), [85–86](#), [90](#). *See also* [Attributa personarum](#); [rhetoric](#)

Virgil (P. Vergilius Maro): as influence on the *Ilias latina*, [89](#); oral reading of, [119](#).

See also [Aeneid](#)

visualization, and reading, [110](#)

Ward, J., [118](#), [119](#)

Warner, M., [150](#)

Werner, S., [118n46](#)

William of Champeaux, [118–19](#)

Wilmart, A., [104](#), [109](#)

women: absent from schools, [10–11](#); boys' imitations of, [10–11](#); voices of, [1–2](#). *See also* [gender](#)

Ziolkowski, J. M., [35–36](#), [38n76](#), [118](#)